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SAVINGS BANKS—NO. 1.

It has been wisely said that "the only time when we can hope usefully and entirely to arrest attention to any public question is when the events of the time clothe it with more than usual interest." The truth of this maxim will hardly be questioned, and, being admitted, there will be no question but that these times of distrust and panic present the favorable opportunity to discuss the question of industrial investments.

Savings banks, in the present acceptation of the term, are of comparatively modern origin, being unknown prior to the commencement of the present century.

It is claimed that as early as 1787 an institution or organization, possessing many of the features of the *savings bank* was organized at Berne, Switzerland; but with the English-speaking people no similar organization appears of record until about the commencement of the present century. In the year 1798 a "Friendly Society," for the benefit of women and children, was organized by Mrs. Priscilla Wakefield, at Tottenham, England, and before the year 1801 there had been combined with it the other objects of a fund for loans and a bank for savings. Although one or two other claims are made as to the origin of savings banks in England it is not conclusively shown that this is not the first institution of the kind in that country, and it is worthy of remark and acknowledgment that in this, as in other benevolent works, woman is in the advance.

In their origin savings banks were charitable institutions. The managers volunteered from among the wealthier classes, giving their services free of cost and a small sum as entrance fee annually. The beneficiaries, or depositors, also paid a small entrance fee, and these fees constituted the capital of the bank.

From such beginnings has grown the system of savings banks in both England and America, and in which are deposited vast sums, the earnings and savings of the middle classes of the communities in both countries, the very poor having nothing to deposit, and the commercial and wealthy classes preferring the commercial banks, both from association and because of the mutual accommodations which they render, and which are not within the proper sphere of the well-conducted savings bank.

Savings banks proper are those which receive the surplus earnings of the industrial classes, allowing a moderate and reasonable rate of interest thereon, and refunding the same upon the necessities of, or when the depositor shall have accumulated sufficient to enable him or her to make a proper investment in a homestead or other safe security. The design of such institutions is to encourage industry, economy, prudence, and foresight on the part of the not unusually improvident classes. These objects can only be attained to their full extent when the security offered for the return of the deposit shall be such as to command the full confidence of the com-

munity. The inquiry, therefore, naturally arises as to whether such a system has been devised, and, if so, what is it?

Experience has shown that, both in this country and England, private savings banks are subject to the same casualties and influences as the ordinary banks of commerce; that their soundness must depend upon the good judgment, management, and fidelity of the officers or men in charge, and that not unfrequently infidelity and failures occur, subjecting to loss the ignorant and innocent depositor, and discouraging further economy and savings on the part of the industrial classes. Certainly Government should intervene to prevent such results. Government has intervened to some extent in most of the States. It has provided certain restrictions and limitations, but not perfect security, for savings banks still fail, and the masses of the community still distrust them, not unjustly; for while State governments prescribe rules they do not assume responsibility in case of their violation.

But let us inquire as to the magnitude of this interest in dollars and cents, independent of the moral effect to be produced by a system which shall render deposits as secure as circulation, and thus ascertain whether the subject is of such importance as to justify the calling into action the functions of the national authorities.

The following table shows the aggregate resources and liabilities of the savings banks in the State of New York, on the 1st days of January, 1872 and 1873, respectively:

1872.	
Aggregate resources.....	\$283,037,846 00
LIABILITIES.	
Amount due depositors.....	\$267,905,286 00
Other liabilities.....	393,378 00
Add for cents.....	145 00—268,299,349 00
Excess of assets over liabilities,	14,738,497 00
RESOURCES—1873.	
Bonds and mortgages.....	\$104,639,854 00
Stock investments, par value:	
United States stocks.....	\$50,978,625 00
New York State stocks.....	11,088,371 00
Stocks of other States.....	10,422,255 00
Bonds of cities in this	
State.....	60,656,305 00
Bonds of counties in	
this State.....	12,499,748 00

Bonds of towns in this	
State.....	\$5,019,450 00
Bonds of villages in this	
State.....	299,450 00
Other stocks or bonds..	2,495,507 00
	153,459,711 00
Amount of stocks and bonds at cost..	\$153,552,756 00
Amount loaned upon public stocks, ..	14,575,907 00
Amount loaned upon stocks and bonds	
of private corporations.....	2,407,812 00
Amount loaned upon personal securi-	
ties	796,454 00
Real estate.....	6,469,430 00
Cash on deposit in banks or trust com-	
panies.....	12,532,497 00
Cash on hand not deposited in banks.	3,796,396 00
Assets of every description not in-	
cluded under either of the above	
heads	6,618,933 00
Add for cents.....	292 00
	305,330,331 00

LIABILITIES—1873.	
Amount due depositors.....	285,286,621 00
Other liabilities.....	266,695 00
Excess of assets over liabilities.....	19,776,864 00
Add for cents.....	151 00
	305,330,331 00
Increase in resources over 1872.....	22,292,485 00
Increase in deposits over 1872.....	17,381,335 00
Increase in resources over liabilities.	5,038,367 00

MOVEMENT—1872-'73.	
Number of open accounts on the mor-	
ning of January 1, 1873.....	822,642
Number of accounts opened	
during the calendar year	
1872.....	233,455
Number of accounts closed	
during the calendar year	
1872.....	177,456
Number of accounts opened	
since organization.....	2,871,829
Institutions in operation....	150
Amount deposited during the calen-	
dar year 1872.....	183,849,613 00
Amount withdrawn during the calen-	
dar year 1872.....	164,481,900 00
Amount of interest or profits received	
or earned during the calendar year	
1872.....	18,174,693 00
Amount of interest placed to the credit	
of depositors for the same period, ..	14,977,613 00
Average of each deposit.....	346 79
Amount of profits or earnings over in-	
terest paid to depositors, 1872.....	3,197,080 00

Assuming that the ratio of increase in the other States named in the table at the close of this article has been equal to the ratio of increase in the State of New York, there should be on deposit in the savings banks in the eight States January 1st, 1874, the vast sum of six hundred millions of dollars. These States contain about one-fifth the population of the whole country, including States and Territories, and if the other four-fifths could be supposed to possess the same means and the same prudence, there would be, in case savings banks were brought within reach of all, the enorm-

ous sum of \$3,000,000,000 on deposit. But it is conceded that the Western and Southern communities, being comparatively younger and with better advantages for the instant use of capital, have, therefore, less accumulated money and less disposition to deposit it for a moderate rate of interest only. In view of these causes, it may not be too much to strike off one-half of the amount for the deposits of the States and Territories not named, but this would leave one thousand two hundred millions, to which add the six hundred millions in the States named now actually on deposit, and we have the sum of one thousand eight hundred millions as the sum which would be deposited as the savings of our industrial classes, provided a perfectly secure depository should be supplied and brought within convenient reach of all the people. Of course such a vast sum would not at once fall into any depository, but it would certainly come in time, and that not very distant, provided the security was unquestioned and the rate of interest at all compensating.

Who will say that such inducement to economy shall not be held out to our working people?

Here is a sum nearly equal to the national debt, and who will say that it would not be better to pay interest on this amount to our industrial classes than to foreign bondholders or domestic speculators?

What, under proper legislation, is to prevent our people from owning their public debt and receiving the interest on it?

HOW SHALL THIS BE DONE?

Postmaster General Creswell, in a recent speech in Baltimore, has foreshadowed the only true plan, as follows:

"Severely as the policy of the Administration has been criticised, it is clear beyond all cavil that the national debt has been paid off with a rapidity unparalleled in history, notwithstanding the largely-reduced taxation, and that the severity of the late panic has vindicated the wisdom of the founders of our present national banking system. Wherever the arm of the Government has reached there has been perfect confidence. Not a sin-

gle dollar of the circulation has been lost, or will be lost, and out of nearly two thousand national banks in the United States, four only have permanently suspended. Can any man fail to see what would have been the terrible financial results if note-holders had been frenzied by the late panic equally with depositors? The holders of \$354,000,000 of bank bills were entirely removed from fear of loss by reason of the absolute security afforded by the Government. In fact, the financial paradox had become familiar to all that the note of a broken bank was better than the note of a solvent one, simply because the notes of broken banks would be eagerly sought by capitalists as a basis of new banking institutions. It was, however, not in the power of the Government to prevent the failure to pay depositors. As the law now stands it is held that the matter of deposits is a subject of contract between the individual depositor and the banks, and that if a bank shall fail to perform its portion of the contract, the remedy must be sought by the individual himself. Now, if the depositor can by any means be made equally safe with the bill-holder, the losses by reason of ill-timed and ill-ventured speculations will fall upon the stockholders, who alone have the power to control their officers.

"Whilst I would not indiscreetly trench upon the domain of another Department, or in any way interfere with the financial or banking operations of the country, I yet believe that the Government, through the instrumentality of the Department committed to my care, can provide a machinery simple, safe, practical, and thoroughly consonant to our institutions, whereby the great laboring masses of the country will have the fruit of their toil protected from lawless speculation, and guarded with absolute security. I have recommended for two years past, and still recommend, the establishment of post-office savings banks. By this simple plan every suitable post office could be used to receive the deposits of the people and transmit them to the Department at Washington, to be invested under the direction of designated officers in the bonds of the United States. By this arrangement the security of depositors would be based upon the very foundation stones of the Republic. Nothing short of political chaos, overthrowing the Government, and the total destruction of all morality and honor among the people could jeopard their interests, so that it may be said that they would be absolutely secure. In times of panic, the people, instead of hoarding their means, would place them

on deposit with the Government, to be invested in Government loans and then sent again into circulation. Like water, the currency thus furnished would flow to the points of lowest depression, and tend to correct all derangement of the circulation, however caused. Thus the people would be served by the security of their investments, the Government would be served by the means placed at its disposal, and the banks and the capitalists would be served because of the tendency to prevent the hoarding of the currency of the country.

"I am aware that this plan will meet with the opposition of some banks and capitalists, who would compel the people to deposit with them upon their own terms, and thus afford them the use of so much additional capital; but let it be remembered that I am not speaking in the interest of banks or capitalists; I am speaking for the people, who are to be protected, and not in behalf of the banks, many of whom have recently given a notable instance of the manner in which they can violate their promises to pay. But why should the banks complain? In addition to their chartered privileges, the Government has recently interposed again in their behalf. By the act of June 8, 1872, the banks were authorized to deposit, for their better security, their United States notes in the National Treasury, receiving therefor certificates of deposit which might be counted as part of their reserve, used for clearing-house purposes, and converted at pleasure in the place where deposits were made. Under this law the Treasury of the United States has been used as a place of safe deposit for the banks to the extent of millions. Why, then, should it not be used with equal propriety, and to the same extent, for the security of the masses of the people?"

"There is nothing in the objection that the establishment of postal banks would be equivalent to the assumption of banking business by the Government. The rate of interest would be too low to justify any such complaint. It would not control the active capital of the country; it would not check reasonable enterprise and activity; its offices would be twofold, yet limited. It would supply first a safe deposit for the earnings of the people, and also serve as a regulator, to control undue excitement in the money market. This is no untried project; it is no longer an experiment. Twelve years actual use in Great Britain have established its feasibility and success. Postal savings banks were established in the United Kingdom in the year 1861, and can now count nearly two

millions and a half of depositors and nearly a hundred millions of deposits."

Doubtless, as the Postmaster General anticipates, the plan will meet with opposition from banks and bankers to a greater or less extent; but even this opposition cannot be general, for not a few of these will recognize the importance to themselves and the country of placing the savings of the community beyond the reach of panics and commercial disasters.

Whatever might happen to shake confidence in the ordinary banking and business of the country, the vast aggregate savings of the industrial masses would be uninfluenced by distrust. These accumulations would be secure, and instead of increasing difficulties by demands of sums they did not need, the people would be more likely to come to the aid of the endangered interests by, at least, the payment of any sums they might owe.

In the organization of such a system many details will have to be considered, but the advantages of a Government system are so apparent that the most obstinate must yield.

1st. There would be a uniform rate of interest established for the whole country, which, we think, should not be above 3.65 per cent., or one cent per day on \$100. This would be easy of computation, comprehended readily by all, would have a tendency to reduce the general rate of interest in the country, and thus benefit the poorer or debtor classes. In times of stringency there would be no bidding for deposits, as is now the case, with private savings banks, and which is always a bad omen. It is generally safe to distrust a bank when it advances the rate of interest it will pay on deposits, that being an indication as well as an element of weakness.

2d. There would be a simple and uniform system of rules and of bookkeeping which all would readily comprehend.

3d. Accumulations would be repaid at the place of deposit or at any other post office bank, at the option of the depositor, thus saving the risk of transport-

ing currency or the cost of exchange in the case of removal or transfer.

4th. These depositories would be brought within convenient reach of all the people, so that the stimulant to saving would not as now be confined to the older and denser communities.

5th. The inducement to hoard in case of panic would be entirely removed from the large majority of the population, and, consequently, money would flow more evenly in its accustomed channels.

6th. The confidence of depositors would be complete, as the security would be unquestioned, and the trust funds held by guardians, administrators, and others would, to a large extent, be deposited in these banks.

7th. Unclaimed deposits, of which there is a considerable percentage in all long-established savings institutions, would become the common property of the whole people, as they ought, instead of going to swell the fortunes of private bankers.

Memorandum statement of savings banks in the New England States, California, and New York—1870-'71.				
STATES.	No. of banks.	Number of depositors.	Amount of deposits.	Average amount for each depositor.
Maine.....	36	39,527	\$10,490,868	\$265 40
N. Hampshire.....	45	71,586	18,759,461	265 25
Vermont.....	10	14,295	2,037,934	142 55
Rhode Island.....	25	67,238	27,067,072	402 55
Massachusetts.....	131	431,769	112,119,016	259 67
Connecticut.....	58	165,692	47,904,834	289 12
New York.....	136	712,109	230,949,408	324 03
California.....	20	51,819	40,878,816	788 88
Totals.....	461	1,553,985	490,006,909	315 32

CONGRESSIONAL SUBSIDIES.

REFUNDER OF THE COTTON TAX.

This question has to be met again in all its bearings. The claimants are zealous, persistent, and untiring. It is even said that a newspaper is to be started in Washington with the special object to advocate the repayment of the cotton tax by the National Government and that two distinguished Southerners are to be the editors. It is not believed that the gentlemen alluded to will lend themselves to the scheme in such a manner, even if they favor the project, especially as one of them will be one of the legislators to pass on the question. The rumor is only mentioned to show what those interested propose to do in order to push their designs to deplete the National Treasury. Their chief reliance is the assertion, time and again reiterated, that the tax was illegal, and has been so judicially proven. So far as the question has been contested in the courts the contrary is the fact. If it were true that the law had been de-

cided to be unconstitutional, then there would be no necessity to importune Congress with petitions for new laws—the claimants could at once pursue their remedy before the courts. There need be no demand for grace or favor if the right exists. It may be said that the right of action has lapsed by statutes of limitation, but persons who rely on their constitutional rights must pursue them in season, and not ask Congress to legislate for their lack of diligence. If it did so in this case, the precedent of reviving rights of action against the Government would be a dangerous one, and the effect would be ceaseless litigation against the United States. It is well known that the bulk of the assumed claims, of the character here treated of, belong to a combination—a ring, as it is called in modern parlance—who control them all at an immense contingent interest. The contracts are artfully drawn up, so as not to appear as assignments, but the disguise is very

transparent, and they are little less than naked transfers to this ring. As the equities of the question are said to be among its most potent elements, it is difficult to see how these assignees are to get over the plain letter of the law and get the claims audited before the Departments, the only proper place to adjust them. The act of Congress of February 26, 1853, (10 Statutes at Large, p. 17,) reads: "All transfers and assignments of claims against the United States, whether absolute or conditional, whatever be the consideration therefor, and all powers of attorney for receiving payment thereof, are absolutely null and void, unless they are executed in the presence of two witnesses, 'after the allowance of such claim, the ascertainment of the amount due, and the issuing of a warrant for the payment thereof.'"

Of course this act can also be repealed, but the American people are getting tired of special legislation when solely in the interest of private speculations, and not in accordance with established policy. The test case made on behalf of the ring was *Farrington vs. Saunders*, commenced in the United States Court for the Western district of Tennessee, the decision was in favor of the constitutionality of the tax. The case was carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, and was twice fully argued for appellants by as able counsel as there is in the United States, including Judge Curtiss, of Massachusetts, Herschel V. Johnson, and William M. Evarts. The Supreme Court refused to reverse the decision of the court below. Thus it will be seen that the assertion that the courts have in any case decided the tax unconstitutional is not true. This aspect of the case it is important to keep constantly in view, as the public mind, both in and out of Congress, has been abused in this respect. If, however, for the sake of policy, or any other reason, it should hereafter be decided that the refund of the cotton tax shall be allowed, the first consideration will be to whom shall repayment be made. Manifestly not to assignees, singly or in association. Whatever wrong has been perpetrated, if wrong is admitted even

by implication, was not done in violation of their rights, but alone to those on whom the burden of the tax fell. True it is, these speculative assignees will adroitly manage to be, in any event, the ultimate beneficiaries, but no members of Congress, in the present temper of their constituents, will have the temerity to propose personal and partial legislation that will vote an immense *douceur* directly into the pockets of needy speculators, whose only equity consists in impressing a portion of the citizens of the country with the idea that the laws of Congress unjustly discriminated against them. The only proposition that has a color of fairness is that the money should be repaid to the taxpayer. Now, who was the tax-payer? To a casual observer it would appear to be the person who paid the tax. Anomalous as the assertion may appear the contrary is the fact. The person who paid the tax into the officer's hands merely did so in a fiduciary capacity; it was paid in most all cases, by factors and commission agents, for and on account of planters and others, and in their accounts of sales or purchases these factors and commission agents invariably charged the full amount of internal revenue tax paid, with commission for advancing the money, and placed only the residue or net proceeds, to the credit of the proper owner. The name of the principal does not appear on the records of the Government as the tax-payer. Are such tax-payers entitled to refund? Have the assignees of these factors and fiduciary agents derived any title, interest, or equity from their assignors? No, because they have assigned and set over what was not theirs, not only without authority of the parties in interest, but in fraud of their rights.

But a very small portion of the tax was paid by the producer direct, and yet the false and fraudulent issue is raised that the refund is asked in the interest of the planter. Practical proof is of record in the refunding division of the Internal Revenue Bureau as to who gets such refunders. It was decided to refund to the person who paid the tax four per cent. on all cotton tax as an allow-

ance for tare on rope and bagging. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been refunded under this rule, but it has all been to fiduciary agents, factors, commission merchants, brokers, shippers, and transportation companies, who have kept the money so collected, although they had been previously fully reimbursed for the tax they had paid on the cotton on which it had been levied and upon which the rebate was subsequently allowed. No one supposes the money so collected belonged to these men, nor did it; no one supposes that any of the tax proposed to be refunded belongs to them or their assignors, or to any one holding the vouchers thus derived from them; no one supposes, in any event, under any possibility, that any but the most attenuated portion will ever reach the hands of the original planter or producer. Yet, in the face of these incontestible facts and the equally inevitable results of any relief granted in the premises, it is heralded that what is asked is because of an illegal tax assessed on the farmer and original producer. A species of fictitious issue raised, not far removed from an effort to extort money under false pretenses. Again, a great deal of cotton was bought during the existence of the tax law by traveling agents, for Eastern manufacturers and representatives of foreign firms, who paid the tax as an increased price on the cotton, and when it was placed on the market, at home and abroad, its value was advanced according to the internal revenue levied on it. Shall it be refunded to these persons? What then becomes of the plea in behalf of the home producer? Or, shall it be refunded to the poor laboring classes who had practically to repay it all, and more, too, in accelerated rates, in the price of the calico apron or brown muslin shirt? There is an abstruse question of the ethics of political economy underlying this branch of the proposition that no refunding law can justly determine, and no speculator's sophistry can conceal. Ordinarily, it is admitted, in times of quiet, undisturbed commerce, the article would not be affected in price in the foreign market (except incidentally and transi-

torily) by such a tax, the quotations would quickly regulate themselves to the law of demand and supply, and domestic prices would soon be adjusted in sympathy and unison. But the channels of trade were interrupted by war, *inter arma silent leges*; cotton performed other missions besides its normal condition in commerce—it became peculiarly an article of speculative value, a medium of foreign exchange; it became of political significance; for it, the ordinary rules of war were often waived; it became an article of investment and was lifted out of the ordinary domain of commerce; for these reasons, large purchases were made with foreign capital and for markets outside of its ordinary channels, independent of its intrinsic value, and without reference to its price augmented by tax. In effect and in point of fact, the internal revenue tax collected on cotton was practically largely returned into the channels of commerce out of foreign coffers. Shall the tax be refunded to the Liverpool merchant? Shall this be taken into consideration? It may not be desired by the refunder speculators, but its general bearing and the resulting consequences must be well considered by legislators. The definition of John Stuart Mill, which will be found on page 418, volume two, of his work on political economy, as to direct and indirect taxes is, however, now generally adopted. He says: "A direct tax is one which is demanded from the very persons who it is intended or desired should pay it. Indirect taxes are those which are demanded from one person in the expectation and intention that he shall indemnify himself at the expense of another, such as the excise or customs. The producer or importer of a commodity is called upon to pay taxes on it, *not with the intention to levy a peculiar contribution on him, but to tax through him the consumers of the commodity, from whom it is supposed that he will recover the amount by means of an advance in price.*"

Mr. McCulloch, in the "Encyclopedia Britannica," says excise is "a term used in finance to signify a duty charged in a country upon articles produced in it be-

fore they are permitted to get into the possession of the public." The tax was put upon the cotton so that it should be an excise on it as a commodity—an article of merchandise before it was allowed to "get into the possession of the public." And it was on this ground that the imposition of a cotton tax was most strenuously opposed in Congress. Mr. Harding said (See *Congressional Globe*, vol. 71, p. 2478) "we tax that article which enters into the consumption of every man, woman, and child, white or black, in the country, and especially the largest portion is used by the poorer classes. The tax is heaviest on those who wear coarse cotton goods. They must pay the tax, and they almost exclusively, as has been said by the gentleman from Maine, although those who have the means of paying these taxes are by these means exempted. The tax will ultimately be extracted from the toiling millions of the country. I protest against the indirect taxation of the absolute necessities of life. My constituents are clothed almost exclusively in cotton goods. They use some woollens, but mostly cotton goods. They sleep on cotton, they walk on cotton, and no matter *what the price of corn is they must pay the tax.*"

Others took the same view, and it is a truth which is universally demonstrated that the consumer pays the tax. Experts interested in the issues at stake, or rather in the stakes at issue, may be retained to explain away these axioms as they choose, but then there is the reflection that political economy is not one of the exact sciences, and its so-called experts are not at all in accord. So as to this phase of the question no definite basis can be produced, the laws of commerce being suspended, as before shown, during the pendency of the tax law. Allusion has been made to the class of persons who will be the claimants in case the speculators should succeed. Hardly one of these men can make up a claim, either as principal or assignee, from the evidence in his possession, without the aid of the Government archives. But the McKee bill proposes to hand these

tended claimants. Mr. Perce, of Mississippi, at the second session of the Forty-Second Congress, presented a series of resolutions from his State, assuming, among other things, that the tax was upon industry, (what tax is not directly or indirectly?) and imposed on them (the people of the Southern States) at a time when they were prostrated and impoverished by war and the attendant consequences. But the cotton brought these impoverished people about four times its usual price "when the cruel war was over," and the United States ports open. What was saved from the flames of the so-called government of these impoverished people was rescued from its confiscation and embargo by the protecting arm of which complaint is made. The resolutions in question go on with their whereases, "That we believe it to be the policy of the National Government to promote the agricultural interests of the country, and to protect industry," &c. So it is, but not to encourage rings of speculators. Most of the assertions of these "whereases" are the merest platitudes, just as relevant to any tax levied as to the cotton tax. Take, for instance, the stamp tax on a box of matches, or the internal revenue tax for slaughtering hogs.

The incessant cry of the impoverished South is but cant in the mouth of speculators; it is raised to benefit themselves, not to enrich the South. The cotton tax did not make any section of the country poor. If it did, the legislators of the country have no right to vote away the people's money on any such a plea. Congress is not an eleemosynary institution. This branch of the question will be found treated in the October number of *THE REPUBLIC*, which it is not necessary to review again. The speech of Mr. Perce, able as it is, is based mainly upon the so-called unconstitutionality of the tax; but if it is plainly a violation of the fundamental law, as he contends, then the United States Supreme Court would so have decided. As it did not, it is not necessary to controvert his argument. When such a question has been submitted to the highest tribunal of the country having

its determination in charge, it is dangerous in the extreme to try its legal bearings over again in a body as large and interested as the Congress of the United States. Their rights of legislation should not be impaired, but no assumption should be made by legislators to pass on the constitutional bearing of a former act passed by their predecessors, and enforced for years; that, too, after its submission to the courts of last resort.

Plainly it would be nothing more than retroactive legislation, and trench on judicial prerogative. One remark made in the discussion is worthy of notice; it is: "If the Southern States had been represented in Congress when the cotton tax was imposed then the law could not have been passed." True to the very letter; it was the very absence of that representation that created the dire necessity of many rigorous, stringent, and restrictive laws, for which the unrepresented territory has fearful responsibility. Do they propose to repeal every law passed by Congress at such time which to them is now objectionable? It is time such arguments were buried with the muffled drum and sheathed swords where they belong. The bill before Congress for the refunding of the cotton tax is wonderfully clear and comprehensive. It proposes to take the adjustment of the claims out of the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury and Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and place them under the control of a commission. All the archives of the Government touching the subject are now in the hands of the proper constituted officers, who are responsible for their safety to the Government and the people. They and their clerks are presumably as familiar with the subject, and at least as competent to pass on all honest claims, with these records at command, as any new commission formed for the special purpose. It would not do to reflect in advance on the *personnel* of this commission, to be created in the interest of a speculative combination. Those who could successfully push through the scheme would easily manipulate their friends, if not colleagues, into this board, for there is no prohibition in

the bill as to interested persons being of the commission. Anyhow the managers seem to be afraid to trust the regular refunding officers of the United States. Imagine for the moment our maimed and wounded pensioners proposing to remove their affairs from the Interior Department into the hands of a commission! House bill No. 1592, read twice and referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, contains the following clause: "That said commission have power to call on any Department of the Government, or any subordinate officer of the same for information, for copies of books, papers, and other proofs in their custody or under their control, or for any books, papers, or proofs remaining in and under the control of former or present officers of the Government containing entries concerning said taxes and the amount or amounts paid." The commission is to have all the powers of a court of record; issue subpoenas and processes through the aid of the United States marshals; compel the attendance of witnesses, civilians, and officers with all documents and papers in their possession. "And it is hereby declared that all books, papers, (private receipts excepted,) and other documents pertaining to the collection of said cotton tax heretofore, now, or hereafter in the hands of public officers, or other persons, are the property of the United States, and are hereby made subject to the order or control of the commission." If this were not enough, the commissioners of the speculators, of the assignees, of the factors, are to issue a series of bonds to be used as a species of bank capital, (not taxable, of course, by any State,) and thus a new element is to be injected into the finances of the country, as if there was not enough now to disturb it. If the planters and people of the South think all this is done for their benefit the sooner they are undeceived the better. Their prejudices, their credulities have been played upon by speculators for individual benefit; not the tithe of a tithe of any money refunded would ever reach the persons in whose behalf the law is proposed. First would come the cost of lobbying the scheme,

then the paid attorneys, for the commission is to hold its session in Washington city, then the half or two-thirds to the speculators, whose base of operations is Wall street, New York; then comes the factor and commission men, who have illegally signed over what did not belong to them; after all this is done, it takes no mathematical calculation to determine what proportion will reach the dear people of the impoverished South, who are being made catspaws by the speculators.

It will be seen that it is proposed not only that the tax be refunded, but that the United States shall hand over all the evidence, from which alone data can be obtained to aid and assist the army of hungry speculators. More than this, all documents and copies are to be furnished at the Government expense, all the officers of the courts of the United States are to be at the beck and call of these speculators at the expense of the general public, the salary of the commissioners and of all their clerks is to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States. As fast as claims are certified to, before bonds are issued, they are to run with interest. In fact, a new bureau is created, with mandatory and executive powers combined. When an award was made under the Alabama treaty a percentage was demanded for expenses. This new bureau, or department rather, is to proceed on a different theory. Every person at all conversant with presenting claims before the Departments knows that it is requisite to keep the archives secret from the greedy supervision of just such men as are the principal managers of the claims under consideration, so that they be not permitted to gather for their own benefit recorded evidence of claims which they can buy up of the needy owner on their own terms. The plain proposition is made to grant these cotton-tax men facilities, help, and privileges denied the widows of deceased soldiers, denied men who are entitled to bounty under the several acts of Congress, denied the sailor in quest of prize money earned at the risk of life, denied the poor soldier or sailor in

search of the little back pay that may be due him, or the pension for which he pleads with gaping wounds, or who may be wasting with disease contracted in defending his country's flag. Yes, refuse access to the public records for these, but open them wide for the cotton tax men. All that is denied to other men who have claims, however just, grant without stint at the public cost to the refunder speculator. Why he should be elevated above the standard of the soldier, sailor, and civilian who served the country in hours of peril it is difficult to see. Better create a commission to search out these soldiers or their heirs, and pay over to them what the law provides for, and which, in hundreds of thousands of cases, is only withheld for lack of the very evidence that it is proposed to supply at the public cost to a set of men who have no shadow of legal title to the money they seek, if even the claim in itself is of any merit. It is not theirs, in whole or in part; their simulated title is as false as the theories which they advance. Bonds are already on the market to be paid out of the proceeds of the refunder scheme, and an investigation will have to be set on foot to see that none are bought or controlled by any persons who may have the right to vitalize them.

There is one argument put forth that is worthy of notice, because it has deceived some people in and out of Congress. It is this: Stress is laid on the assumed fact that the tax on cotton was purely local, thus invidious as to territory; as cotton is produced only within certain limits, that it is thus sectional in its character. But it is used all over the country, and the tax is practically repaid by the consumer, as has already been shown. It is the article, and not the person or locality, that is taxed. Again, it is said being a product of the soil, a raw material, therefore it ought to be taxed. Again, that it is taxed subsequently in its manufactured state. Probably for some of these reasons many persons may think it ought not to have been taxed. Probably so, but Congress thought otherwise. It was a matter of policy of a former day, not the present

time, on which they had the right to pass. If it is proposed to undo now what they then did, it is treading on dangerous ground, and opens up an extensive inquiry. Petroleum was taxed, and many of the products of the farm and mine—so was fish, beeswax, lime, tar, ice, mineral water, timber, and stone taxed, in their raw state, and taxed again and again when manufactured. So was a barrel of flour taxed, and no debenture made when exported. Yet they say the cotton tax was a tax on the export of a State; and they say that being a tax bearing on products of a special territorial limits, it was virtually a tax on lands. Apply this rule to the iron that was dug up, the ice that was cut from the Northern lakes, which had to pay a tax before being placed on the market or *exported*. There were, too, taxes on sales of real estate, on coal, slate, marble, copper, lead, quicksilver, diamonds, bullion. All these are products of limited territory. A notable tax was the one on salt, which was produced at the time only in two districts to any extent, viz: Kanawha, West Virginia, and Rochester, New York. True, there was some produced in the Southern States, but *that* paid no tax. Petroleum was confined almost exclusively to Pennsylvania. Is the South entitled to any more consideration than these States?

The assumptions of the advocates of the scheme, that a tax such as the cotton tax must be apportioned equally among all the States, is about as audacious an argument as could be put forth. Congress did apportion a direct tax in this manner, all the Northern States paid their quota, the Southern States still owe theirs with a slight exception, and what was collected cost ten per cent. expense. Now if relief is sought in the manner proposed, the acts of Congress known as the revenue laws must all be taken together, the courts have frequently decided that they form part of a system, all of their provisions must be considered in *pari materia*, therefore the Southern States owe their direct tax yet; consequently as to all propositions to refund tax to them they are not in court with clean hands, they are asking equity with-

out performing it. Their position in this respect would not be noticed only that some of the States have sent in their memorials, whereases, and resolutions, that the United States should return the cotton tax paid in the Southern States. If any one will take the trouble to look over the reports of the Commissioners of Internal Revenue it will be seen that a large cotton tax was paid in the Northern States, whose capital in fact paid it all.

Take, as an example, the report for 1868; it will be found that year the following States paid cotton tax: Illinois, \$34,697 85; Indiana, \$15,351 19; Kentucky, \$102,383 24; Maryland, \$39,424 79; Massachusetts, \$10,967 96; Missouri, \$65,981 71; New York, \$125,602 64; Ohio, \$115,190 48; Pennsylvania, \$9,352 14. Total from nine non-Southern States in one year, \$518,952.

This amount the Southern State resolutions do not propose to have refunded, probably because the payments were not made in insurrectionary States, which seem to be invested with peculiar constitutional privileges to which the non-insurrectionary States are not entitled. Among which is, to have repaid to them what little contributions it was possible to collect from them, while the burdens of the Government were borne by the non-insurrectionary districts. It must not be forgotten, however, that the highest authorities of the land have interpreted the first clause of the eighth section of the Constitution as follows: "That Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, *in order to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.*" Against public enemies Congress provided defense, placing the maimed remnant of the heroic survivors on the rolls of the national bounty, and, in pursuance of their duty and power, created a debt, to pay which they levied taxes. It is hardly necessary to suggest that a heavy revenue must be raised to carry out their promises to the creditors of the country and the protectors of its flag. Who will in future lend money to a government whose

powers of taxation are so circumscribed as the United States will be if the taxes imposed for these purposes are paid back? How otherwise could the Government have provided for the general welfare of the Government? the common defense in the great emergency presented? How otherwise can they ever pay the debt created? Shall the credit of the country be jeopardized for a few speculators? Shall its implied faith be broken for them? What will be the esteem in which the securities of the country will be held with such loose, vague, and unstable powers of raising revenue? This, and the political completion of the issue, can not be ignored. The whole movement is revolutionary, but with no lofty aspiration; a rebellion solely for filthy lucre's sake, a revolt against law fatal to the liberties of the country if it succeeds.

Refunder of cotton tax of course means refunder of the salt and petroleum tax, and then will follow the tax on wine made from grapes, tax on slaughtered cattle, on pork—in fact there is no telling where the principle will stop. Not to pursue this branch of the subject retrospectively further, let it be remembered that a large part of the revenue of the country at this day is secured from the internal revenue tax on tobacco, malt liquor, and distilled spirits, and every argument in favor of rebate of cotton tax is equally potent as to these taxes. Some States do not pay one dollar on any of these articles. The bulk of the tax is paid in a limited territory—the Middle and Western States—the product of the farm. Applying the export tax to the staples of the great West, there was a period when no return of the inland tax was provided for when these products were exported to foreign countries. So after refunding the cotton tax the present whisky and tobacco tax must meet the same fate as a matter of course. Congressmen have, however, received potent admonitions from the people that they will not tamely submit to the transfer of public money from the Government coffers into the pockets of private speculators by special acts of subsidy, and they will pause ere they vote to this hungry clique Seventy

Millions of the public funds and admit principle and precedent for disbursing Hundreds of Millions more hereafter.

GOLD, LEGAL-TENDER PAPER, AND SILVER.—By law gold and our legal-tender paper currency are made legal tender of payment in all amounts, while silver is subordinate, subsidiary, a legal tender in sums of only limited amount, not exceeding five dollars in any one payment.

Our true policy is to treat gold and legal-tender paper as either actually or eventually (in the early future) equivalent, and to treat silver as subordinate to each, as by law it is and is designed to be.

Accordingly, we may pay out silver in exchange for legal-tender paper in unlimited amounts, but *not, vice versa*, give legal-tender paper in unlimited amounts for silver.

The following covers all possible cases:

We will, in exchange, give greenbacks for gold; eventually give gold for greenbacks; give silver for either gold or greenbacks; but *not* give either gold or greenbacks for silver.

To illustrate:

A B offers legal-tender paper; desires gold. Our reply: Yes, eventually.

A B offers gold; desires legal-tender paper. Yes.

A B offers gold or legal-tender paper; desires silver. Yes.

A B offers silver; desires gold or legal-tender paper. No.

SILVER COIN.—Secretary Richardson has issued the following order to the cashier of the Treasury and the Assistant Treasurers in other cities:

"You will please on and after the receipt of this order, and until further notice, pay public creditors, should they desire it, on account of currency obligations, (but not in exchange for currency,) a sum not to exceed five dollars in any one payment in silver coin."

There was no authority whatever for the statement telegraphed from Washington that the Department would "exchange silver for currency, and *vice versa*."

ULYSSES S. GRANT AND ROBERT E. LEE.

A CONTRAST OF TWO EVENTFUL LIVES.

The interest commonly felt by mankind in all that relates to the character and career of individual men who rise to pre-eminence above their fellows naturally leads to more or less of inquiry into their antecedents and history, with a view of ascertaining as far as may be practicable the causes that brought about such superiority and pre-eminence.

There are two opinions held by philosophers and thoughtful observers of the organization and natural condition of mankind, in support of two very different and opposite theories to account for the marked difference in the individuals of a race. One theory is that in education and mental and physical training may almost alone be found the source of such difference; the other theory is that the general organization and conformation physically and mentally belonging to the individual, when ushered into existence at birth, present the true sources and causes which produce and result in such remarkable differences in the individuals of races in all countries. Doubtless both theories are, to a certain extent, well founded; but it will be found that results from both are necessary to give the just and proper solution of the interesting question, Why such inferiority of individual classes of men over the masses of their kind arise and exist? and that neither one of the theories cited is alone sufficient to account for such differences.

In aid of the working to the desired end, upon the philosophy of both theories, may be cited the well-known influence of mothers in forming the characters of great and illustrious men. Scarcely an instance can be produced in the case of any great man, in any country, where it can be found that the mother was an ordinary or commonplace woman; but, on the contrary, in almost every instance of distinguished and celebrated men, that their mothers possessed in a superior degree among their sex rare qualities of heart and mind, accompanied with uncommon

physical energy and vitality of action. Washington, the elder Napoleon, and many other illustrious and celebrated characters could be cited in support of this well-known historical fact. The lamented Lincoln's mother must have been a woman of an extraordinary strength of character, judging from one interesting incident alone, which occurred at the last interview she had with her devoted son, then exalted for the second time to the highest office in the gift of a grateful people. With Spartan pride in her patriot son, and with an utter indifference to the *eclat* attending the elevation of her son a second time to the Chief Magistracy, and consequently reflecting upon his family his honors, which might have turned the heads of many in loftier and more wealthy positions in life, she simply seemed to regret his success—to be again burdened and harassed with the vexatious cares of State—and the more so that she, the fond old mother, it appears, was impressed at the time with a most singular and sad presentiment that some disaster would happen, as a result of his election, to the son she loved so well and so justly.

Alluding again to this remarkable presentiment with reference to the future destiny of her great son, and on which it is said she sadly dwelt from time to time, it may be of strange interest to note the fact that Mr. Lincoln himself had such presentiments; and it is a matter of tradition that he labored under such a feeling the Friday evening previous to his going to the theater, where he met his foul assassination, and where his and his poor mother's sad forebodings were so shockingly realized.

The writer of this brief article has no knowledge of the characters of Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Lee, the respected mothers of General Grant and General Lee; but, judging effects from causes in other great cases, it will not be hazardous much to suppose them as possessing qualities of mind and heart commen-

surate in force with the characters achieved by their sons.

Opportune occasions for rising above the masses, even for the best and highest endowed of men, are necessary, otherwise, such never occurring, they will doubtless pass their lives as thousands have done, in obscurity, and unknown to fame.

With the elder Napoleon two occasions were necessary, and they arose. He was in Paris, almost without friends, and reduced in circumstances; young, and not long from the military school of Brienne, a sub-lieutenant without assignment to duty, moodily and discontentedly moving about the great city, then undergoing the throes of a bloody revolution, he looked in vain for months without meeting with success in his application for command, when suddenly his dark fortune changed, and instead of frowns smiled upon him through the good offices of the celebrated Madame Roland, and soon he was placed in the position for military service that he had so much desired and striven for.

That was his first occasion, and well and famously did he accept it, and avail himself of it. His second occasion, and for which the first was but preparatory, was the anarchical condition of turbulent Paris, of which he was duly advised while he was in command of the army of Egypt; and quickly seeing the occasion and the opportunity for a great move on the political chess-board, he suddenly left his command and returned to the revolutionary city, and by a masterly *coup d'état* upset the unstable and tottering Government, making himself, through the instrumentality of complaisant friends, one of a trio of consuls, and ere long afterward strode with determined steps to the throne of the Empire, where he soon dazzled and awed the nations.

English writers, ever prejudiced against this extraordinary man, and not willing to admit in his justification the character of the people, and the dreadful position of affairs to both the people and the Government, crying out in blood for a restoration of order, peace, and safety from revolutionary assassins, charge him with destroying republican liberty and seizing

with violence upon despotic authority. This charge should be made with many grains of allowance for the necessity of such action under the surrounding circumstances of the time. The people of France approved it, because they had faith in and loved their great chief, "The Little Corporal;" and to this day there is no name that has such talismanic influence and charm for them as that of Bonaparte; and not even the blundering misrule of the late Emperor, resulting in such direful misfortune, could cast a blemish or a slur on the name, or obscure in the least their fond recollections of their illustrious chief, who gave to La Belle France so much glory, and whom with sad and mournful affection they followed ever until his proud and imperious spirit passed away from earth from a far-off and lone isle of the ocean.

The character, disposition, and temperament of the French people render them unfitted for a republican form of government—only one that can exhibit to the world pomp, parade, and ostentatious show, and particularly one that can give them at least occasional military *eclat* and glory; and to such an one will they probably now ere long return, and give up their Republic, which they can neither understand nor appreciate.

It is remarkable that, like Napoleon, General Grant, though battling in behalf of a cause and for a people of totally different character, and for a far different end, required two occasions or opportunities to attain to the high positions he has since occupied and held. The first occasion was at the very outset of the late unfortunate war; and then, as was Napoleon at his commencement, he was without influential friends or connections to aid him to gain military position, although he had been educated for the profession of arms at West Point; but as Napoleon had the good fortune to be befriended by Madame Roland, so, fortunately for the General and the country, he found such a friend in Mr. Washburne, then in Congress, who had the penetration to discover his capacity and fitness for military command, so necessary at that time.

Availing himself of the occasion so

offered, he entered the service and rose rapidly to the higher grades, until he reached the command attacking and besieging Vicksburg, where he so distinguished himself by the greatest success of the war—accepting the surrender of the place with twenty-two thousand prisoners—that he was at once placed in command in chief of the Union army. This was his second occasion or opportunity; and with the high command then and thereby gained, he with determined pertinacity pursued the chief of the Confederate forces, assigning other commands to the generals under his orders, until he finally succeeded in overcoming the entire rebellious forces, and conquering a peace—for all of which a grateful people have twice elevated him to the Presidency; a more pleasing gratification of his ambition than that of the throne to which the last-named great captain succeeded.

General Lee had his opportunity and occasion for a great rise in the career of life, if traditional information is reliable, which it is believed it is, and that was that his old chief and warm personal friend, General Scott, entreated him to remain steadfast and loyal to the Union and flag of his country, intimating that as he was declining in years, and becoming feeble from age, he hoped to see Colonel Lee succeed him in command. But no, this could not be, because Lee's home education was in the way. He had been taught in the States-rights school, and where the political dogma had been ineffaceably impressed on his very being, that his first allegiance was due to his native State. He, therefore, lost by this baneful teaching his great occasion and opportunity, omitted to take the "flood of the tide," and choosing to embrace what has since been aptly called the lost cause, failed, and now lies in his last home on earth, carried to it prematurely, it is feared, by crushed hopes, if not by a broken heart! "*Requiescat in pace.*"

Still it may be wisely concluded, that no matter how greatly any individual may be naturally endowed, or what superior qualities he may possess by reason

of high mental culture, he is nevertheless but a mere instrument after all, acting under the control and direction of the great Architect of the Universe, executing and carrying out plans and designs projected by Him, and there is a

"Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will."

CHARLES BRADLAUGH AND JOSEPH ARCH.—These two gentlemen came from England to America a few weeks ago, both claiming to be leaders of the working classes in their own country. Since his arrival Mr. Arch has employed his time in collecting statistics in the United States and in Canada on the condition of the working classes, the profits of agriculture, the cost of farms, the wages of workmen connected with the agricultural and manufacturing industries, the facilities for transporting immigrants from the seaboard to the interior, &c. Mr. Arch, in his own quiet and unobtrusive way, is acquiring much valuable information, by the dissemination of which, on his return to England, he will subserve the interests of both Europe and America by inducing thousands of his countrymen to better their condition by emigrating to the United States and to Canada.

On the other hand, Charles Bradlaugh has employed his time in lecturing to audiences in New York and elsewhere on themes of no essential interest to the working classes or others. Mr. Arch will carry home a fund of valuable information, collected at his own expense, which he will turn to good account. Charles Bradlaugh will carry away only the proceeds of his lectures, which may be an important consideration to himself, though of small account to those he proposes to represent and serve.

Mr. Bradlaugh was not long in the United States before he discovered that the doctrines of socialism, communism, and infidelity, which formed the basis of his republican addresses in England, were distasteful to American audiences, and he very wisely omitted them in his lectures on this side of the water. In England he found listeners to those sentiments among the ignorant classes;

here he found no uneducated audiences to harangue, and wisely thrust his infidelity behind him instead of parading it before intelligent communities.

Socialism, communism, and infidelity have ever, and must always be, held as antagonistical to the spirit of republicanism in the United States; and they will ever be found to be in direct opposition to true republicanism in any government founded on republican principles. Dr. Fisch, of France, when addressing a large audience in Washington a few evenings ago, contrasted the republicanism of the United States with that of his own country. France, he said, had but the form of a republican government. The one was like Adam, the first man, when he was formed from the dust, before life was imparted to the clay body, while the other was like the body quickened into life and energy.

Another speaker, the Rev. Mr. Knox, a Presbyterian clergyman from Ireland, said he had traveled over the largest portion of the principal nations of Europe, and now he had just spent a month journeying through the United States, and he was free to confess that in no nation had he found so much of vital Christianity as in America. The great national heart was a Christian heart, he said, and he rejoiced to find it so, in view of the fact, if for no other reason, that so many millions of his own countrymen had made this country their future home; and he might have added, with the full support of history, that upon no other basis can the pure principles of republicanism be founded and perpetuated.

DECISIONS IN LAND CASES.—In the matter of *The Dardanelle Mining Company vs. The California Mining Company*, Carson City land district, Nevada, the Secretary of the Interior has affirmed the decision of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, holding that the verification of an adverse claim under the act of May 10, 1872, which provides that oaths be taken before officers authorized to administer oaths in the land district where the mining claim is lo-

cated could not be made before a commissioner of deeds for the State of Nevada residing in California. The Secretary holds that the limitation to the land district was for the purpose of rendering it practicable to punish parties who may be guilty of perjury in making oaths.

The decision of the General Land Office rejecting the application of Guadalupe E. Arguello to purchase a part of the Millijo or La Punta rancho, in Los Angeles district, California, under the seventh section act of Congress of July 23, 1866, has been affirmed by the Secretary of the Interior.

NAVAL ORDERS.—The following naval changes have been made recently: Captain Charles H. Baldwin has been detached from duty at the navy-yard, Mare Island, California, and ordered to command the naval rendezvous at San Francisco, relieving Captain Paul Sherley on the 10th of November. Captain Sherley is ordered as executive officer of the navy-yard at Mare island. Captain William E. Hoffman is detached from the navy-yard, Mare island, and ordered to command the Benicia, South Pacific station, relieving Captain A. G. Clary, who, on reporting his relief, is ordered to return home and report his arrival.

DUNCAN C. REED has been commissioned as inspector of boilers by the Supervising Inspector General of Steamboats, to take effect on the 1st instant. He will be assigned to duty in the district of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

POST OFFICE APPOINTMENTS.—The President has made the following appointments of postmasters: James R. Angel, at Union Springs, N. Y., vice James B. Burlew, resigned; James H. Clark, reinstated at Mattoon, Ill., vice G. W. Lynn, removed.

A RECENT English writer says that drunkenness is an affair of climate; the people of all damp and cold countries are apt to drink more than is good for them; and a geographer might divide a map of the world into "temperate" and "intemperate" zones.

THE GRANGES AND THE FREE-TRADE LEAGUE.

Unusual activity has been manifested for some time past by the New York Free-trade League and its branches and agents throughout the Western States. The efforts of these representatives of foreign interests are just now directed mainly to the introduction of their publications among the officers and members of the farmers' granges. The plausible but deceptive generalities with which the pretended beauties and blessings of free trade are presented, in contrast with the exclusive and selfish policy of protection, are well calculated to deceive those who accept their statements without examining the question for themselves.

The Free-trade League, with its headquarters in New York city, and branches and agents distributed over the country, is controlled by cunning and unscrupulous men, who are laboring to deceive the farmers into the belief that the country, owing to the protective features of the tariff, is about to enter upon a period of serious embarrassment, from which it can escape only by the early adoption of a free-trade tariff.

In order to tempt inquirers to a more thorough examination of the merits and demerits of the protective and free-trade policies, it is proposed to consider briefly, and in a few independent paragraphs, some of the leading claims of the protective policy, and to point out a few of the more prominent errors into which the advocates of free trade are endeavoring to lead the public mind by the spurious arguments of their publications and public addresses.

The tariff and its characteristic features affect all classes, and the question of duties is one which each individual should investigate for himself, with special reference to the peculiar condition of his own country.

IS THE FREE-TRADE POLICY OF ENGLAND APPLICABLE TO THE UNITED STATES?

The Western farmers are told that free trade has been a grand success in Eng-

land, and, if introduced, it would be followed by similar results in the United States. Even admitting that this system of political economy has been an advantage to the English people—an admission that cannot be sustained by facts—it does not follow that a similar policy is calculated, to subserve the best interests of the people in the United States. The Hon. William D. Kelley, in the introduction to his "Speeches, Addresses, and Letters on Industrial and Financial Questions," page 12, describes the contrast in the condition of the two countries so fully that we quote his remarks. He says:

"The conditions of the two nations are not the same, but are in striking contrast. England is a small island, but the United States embraces almost the entire available territory of a continent. The former is burdened by an excess of population, and vexed by the question as to how she shall dispose of the excess; but our great need is industrious people, and the question with us is, how can we increase immigration? She has to import food for nearly half her people, and her foreign trade is to her what seed-time and harvest are to the countries from which she procures the breadstuffs which she requires, but cannot produce; but were they on our soil, we could feed ten times the number of her whole people; and even while I write, the merchants of Minnesota, Iowa, and other Northwestern States are suffering financial embarrassment because the farmers they supply cannot find a market for their crops. She is dependent on foreign countries for most of the raw materials she consumes, but we have within our limits exhaustless stores of every variety, not dependent upon tropical heat for their production. Her resources are ascertained and developed, but ours await development, and in regions, any one of which is larger than all Western Europe—including the British Islands—await definite ascertainment. Her population is compacted within narrow limits, and her railroads are completed and paid for; but our people are settled sparsely over half a continent, and most of our system of roads, for which the capital is yet to be produced, is to be constructed. The charges for transportation within her circumscribed and populous limits are very light; but over our extended and thinly-settled country they are neces-

sarily heavy. *Her factories were erected and supplied with machinery while she maintained the most rigid system of protection the world has ever seen; but ours are to be built as experiments, in the face of threatened free trade, which would involve a more unequal competition than any against which she defended hers by protective duties and absolute prohibitions. Her average rate of interest is three per cent. per annum, but ours is never less than six per cent. per annum, and in large sections of the country is often three per cent. per month. The great body of her laborers—even since the recent extension of the suffrage—are subjects, without civic duties; but ours are citizens, and liable to such duties. She pays the daily wages of her workmen with shillings; but we pay ours with dollars, worth four shillings each, and give many classes of them more dollars than she does shillings. It is, therefore, impossible that the same economic policy can be applied with equal advantage to countries whose condition presents so many and such important contrasts."*

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE REVENUE SYSTEMS OF ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

The policy of England in the adjustment of her tariff is precisely the same as that which the Free-trade League of New York is now pressing upon the attention of the farmers' granges, with glowing pictures of its advantages over the system adopted in the United States. It is the old theory of the Manchester school of political economists. They claim, and England applies the test, that manufactured goods, and such other articles as her own people can produce, should be entered from foreign countries free of duty; while *articles that cannot be produced at home should be taxed.* In the United States the policy is to impose a tariff on imported manufactures and products that come into competition with like products of our own country, and admit *free of duty* goods that cannot be produced at home, and in which there can therefore be no competition. England admits to her markets, duty free, all manufactures from silk, wool, and cotton, iron, steel, &c.—articles that come in direct competition with the labor of her own people. At the same time she imposes a tax of \$1 94, \$2 33, \$2 55, and \$2 93 per hundred weight on

sugar, according to quality; 12 cents per pound on tea; 6 cents per pound on coffee; 7 cents per pound on chocolate, and 72 to 97 cents per pound on tobacco—articles which she cannot produce, but which go largely to make up the expenses of the poor man's family. In the United States manufactures from silk, wool, and cotton, iron, steel, &c., which come into competition with similar products of our own workmen, are subject to a tariff tax, while tea and coffee and other articles of daily consumption, which we cannot produce, are admitted free of duty. This is the distinctive feature between the policy of England and that of the United States. England taxes her aggregate imports nearly as heavily as we do, but by a system which largely enhances the expenses of the poor man's family, and leaves domestic industry to be enslaved by foreign and unfair competition. In England legislation has been mainly to benefit the rich at the expense of the masses.

Sir Edward Sullivan, member of Parliament of England, in a recent publication on "Protection to Native Industry," asks the following pertinent question:

"Is it not absurd and stupid and irritating to the working classes to admit, duty free, *all they produce*, and to tax *all they consume*; to admit, duty free, clocks, matches, silk, paper, gloves, glass, ribbons, hats, boots, shoes, millinery, the finer kinds of cotton goods and linen, and scores of other industries, and to continue a heavy tax on cocoa, coffee, sugar, tea, and tobacco?"

Yet, strange as it may appear, this has been for many years the governing rule in England in the regulation of her tariff.

REACTION IN ENGLAND AGAINST FREE TRADE.

It will be remembered that the free-trade policy of England originated with the Manchester school of political economists. It is a notable coincidence that now, in the very same district, an earnest cry comes up, and is endorsed by the workingmen throughout England, who, impelled by the force of hunger, ask with heartfelt earnestness that a protective

policy may be substituted for that of free trade, in order that they may be saved, as they say, "from growing pauperism, pinching hunger, and hopeless want."

Already a number of well-written pamphlets have been published in opposition to any further trial of free trade.

Some of these publications bear the following significant titles:

"The Present and Long-continued Stagnation of Trade: Its Causes, Effects, and Cure." By R. Burn, of Manchester.

"Free Trade a Gigantic Mistake." By M. Roberts, England.

"Sophisms of Free Trade Examined." By Hon. J. Byles, Judge of Common Pleas. Republished by the Manchester Reciprocity Association.

"Economical Fallacies and Labor Utopias." Republished from the London *Quarterly Review*, for July, 1871.

The "Decline of British Industry, by a Manchester Man," is just published in London and Manchester.

"Protection to National Industry." By Sir E. Sullivan, M. P.

The Reciprocity Association, in a recent publication, say:

"There is nothing in which the people are so intensely interested, or which more deeply concerns their material prosperity, than the PROTECTION by the Imperial Parliament of British industry against a grasping and unsympathizing foreign competition which takes all and yields nothing."

At a recent meeting of the Macclesfield Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Cowdron said:

"In 1826 Mr. Huskisson introduced his free-trade measures, and immediately both silk and cotton manufactures began to decline. Before the tariff treaty (with France) came into operation there was a great silk trade carried on in Macclesfield, and there were thousands of silk looms in Manchester; but soon after the commencement of the treaty nine-tenths of the factories were closed, and machinery worth £50,000 was sold for £5,000."

Mr. Roberts, in his "Free Trade a Gigantic Mistake," attributes the injury to British manufactures to foreign competition, and cites a thousand or more articles, from a button to a steam engine, all of which should be manufactured at home, but which, he says, "come from America, France, and Germany," "to-

gether with doors, window sashes, and all kinds of wood work from the Baltic," and adds:

"In fact, everything, small and great, and all are admitted duty free into England. If all these articles were made here there would be no lack of work for the British workman; and the whole of England would once more be set in operation."

Mr. Burn, in his publication, says:

"The amount of distress that at present pervades the industrial interests of this kingdom is truly deplorable, and the future appears still more cloudy than the present. The cause of such a state of things, I feel sure, arises almost exclusively from foreign competition, which has increased to such an extent that a few years since would have been thought fabulous."

The author of the "Decline of British Industry" says:

"There cannot exist the least doubt that our manufacturing position is on the wane. In reference to the cotton trade, the United States and foreign Europe have more than overbalanced us. We do not fear competition if placed on an equal footing, but to attempt to compete against the hostile tariffs and cheaper labor of the world, with free imports, is the very height of insanity."

There is a mournful pathos in a late address of a meeting of iron-workers in South Staffordshire to their employers. They say:

"We ask you, gentlemen, can you expect that we will continue, 'like dumb, driven cattle,' to accept with indifference the present state of things, as if we had become 'living dead men?' The low price of labor and the high price of living has driven, and is driving, your best workmen from the country, to compete with us in the labor markets of the world."

Hon. John Byles, in the preface to the ninth edition of "Sophisms of Free Trade," Manchester, 1870, says:

"There must be something fearfully wrong, or essentially deficient, in the prevailing system; there must necessarily be some error in theory."

In an able work, entitled "The State, the Poor, and the Country," by R. H. Patterson, published in Edinburgh and London in 1870, the writer makes a significant inquiry, and then adds the answer, as follows:

"What is at present reckoned the cor-

rect view of state economy? Is it to provide work for the poor, the honest, and the willing? Not at all. That is not the Political Economy, (falsely so-called,) which is the idolatry of English politicians. It is for the state to stand aloof when wide-spread distress prevails, and to give no help until the unemployed have sunk to the rank of paupers, when they are handed over to the humiliation and demoralization of the poor-house. But such Political Economy is not only heartless but eminently shortsighted. It disregards two grand elements of the question—the element of the future, and, also, the question of social well-being."

Sir Edward Sullivan says:

"A great manufacturing nation like England does not suddenly collapse and give place to another; her industries are slowly, bit by bit, replaced by those of other countries; the process is gradual, and we are undergoing it at present. The difference between England and her young manufacturing rivals is simple but alarming. France, Austria, Prussia, Belgium, Switzerland, have increased their export trade and their home consumption. England has increased her export trade, but her home consumption has fallen away—in the matter of cotton alone, thirty-five per cent. in three years.

* * The only industry in the country that is really flourishing is that of machine-makers—turning out spinning and weaving machinery for foreign countries! Many of these works are going night and day."

These are some of the results of the free-trade policy in England. A writer in the Manchester *Guardian* says: "There is unquestionably a reactionary feeling against free trade." The protectionists, or as they style themselves, "revivalists of British industry," are thoroughly organized for the work at Manchester, and in other manufacturing and commercial centres, and are determined to press their claims to a successful issue.

THE PROTECTIVE POLICY ABROAD.

Protection, or encouragement to home industries, is one of the primary obligations of every properly-organized Government. Mr. Wells, in his report to the Secretary of the United States Treasury, for 1868, page 23, says:

"A careful study of the financial systems of the various commercial nations of Europe has led the commissioner unhesitatingly to the conclusion that,

whatever may be the state of European public opinion in respect to free trade, and whatever may be the claims professed for it, on the broad grounds of liberality and humanitarianism, the fiscal legislation of Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Austria, and Russia is now, and always has been, framed solely and exclusively with reference to one object, viz: the promotion of supposed national self-interest; and has never had the slightest regard to the interest of any other nation, or to any arguments other than those based upon specific national wants and national experiences."

Mr. Wells' statement is strictly true. Germany for a quarter of a century or more has maintained a zollverein, or protective tariff, under which she has risen from disunion and weakness to the position of one of the most firmly united and strongest powers of the present day. List, one of Germany's ablest statesmen, while the zollverein was doing its great work, said: "The protection of the tariff of the customs-union, (zollverein,) extended to manufactured products in general, has, in the space of ten years, advanced Germany a century in prosperity, in self-respect, and in power."

It is but just to note the fact that the German system was adopted after a careful study of the protective policy of the United States, and it is an almost exact counterpart of our own system. It demolished all the custom-house barriers between German States, and made their home trade and exchange of commodities as free as the commerce between the different States of the American Union. It taxed foreign manufactures that came in contact with their own home-manufactured goods, as has been done in the United States, thus affording direct protection to home industries. Under this system Germany has united her States, and in strength and material prosperity she has outstripped all the other great powers on the Eastern hemisphere.

France has always protected her own home industries. In fact, she has gone too far, and in reference to some important articles, made her regulations prohibitory—a system that can never be justified, except in reference to articles

of an obscene or pernicious tendency. With all her other drawbacks, France prospered under her protective policy; and even since the destructive results of the late war, she has demonstrated her wealth, in the fact that she has already liquidated her war indemnity, in amount equal to nearly half the entire debt of England. Even her modified treaty tariff with England was largely protective, so much so that the Chamber of Commerce in England pronounced it "excessive, unreasonable, and onerous;" and Count Gasparin declared it to be "scarcely less prohibitory, in fact, than the American Morrill tariff."

Austria, Russia, Sweden, and in fact the entire Peninsula have always been careful to protect their respective home interests by tariffs. And now British India, Australia, and other British possessions are clamoring for and adopting protective tariffs, to defend their own industries against an undue importation of foreign manufactures, not excepting importations from England.

Sir E. Sullivan, an English baronet, and member of the British Parliament, says:

"We are told free-trade principles are spreading. Why, in Prussia, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, &c., the idea even of opening their ports and markets and inviting competition with their own industrial populations, has never yet been mooted."

And again:

"Protection is as firmly drawn around all the native industries of Europe and America as it was twenty years ago, and generations will elapse before there is any sensible movement in the opposite direction."

OPINIONS OF EMINENT STATESMEN ON THE PROTECTIVE POLICY.

Ever since the foundation of the American Government, with very rare exceptions, our most prominent statesmen have advocated the protective system as indispensable to national prosperity. Washington, as first President of the infant nation, met the initial Congress clad in a suit made from domestic cloth, and the second act of Congress which secured his signature had a preamble, as follows:

"Whereas, It is necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of our debts, and for the encouragement and PROTECTION of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods imported," &c.

Hamilton, whose sagacity and statesmanship have never been questioned, committed himself unreservedly to the protective policy, and the sentiments of Gallatin, Franklin, Jefferson, the Adamases, Madison, Andrew Jackson, and Martin Van Buren have been so often quoted in support of this principle of protection to the manufacturing interests and other industries, that a repetition of their words here is quite unnecessary. So, also, Calhoun, in his early public life, before he embraced the error of sectionalism, advocated protection; and we all know that Clay and Webster were committed to this policy. In 1832, Abraham Lincoln, on being nominated to the Legislature of his State, said, in his speech: "I am in favor of the internal improvement system, and a *high protective tariff*."

Among these eminent names are some of the clearest-headed Democrats that have ever taken an active part in American politics, and to-day it would be difficult to find in the entire thirty-seven States a person of intelligence, who has personally examined the subject, that is not fully convinced of the wisdom of our present system of protection to home industries. The opposition to the measure comes, not from conviction, but from mercenary and purely selfish motives. It is well known that the Free-trade League of New York city is sustained mainly by foreign importers; and any person who will take the trouble to examine the advertisements in their publications, will see at a glance that seventy-five per cent. of that valuable patronage comes from English manufacturers, insurance companies, and mercantile houses, or their branch establishments in New York city.

But the day has passed away in which the League might have done damage to the domestic industries by the diffusion of their free-trade sophisms. Mechanics, farmers, and the working classes gener-

ally know their interests too well to be led astray by free-trade theories, which, in practice in England, according to the statements of their own public men, have reduced every tenth individual to the condition of pauperism.

OUR PAST EXPERIENCE UNDER HIGH AND LOW TARIFFS.

The Government of the United States has never been without a tariff, more or less protective in its effects; but at different periods, and under administrations of opposite political views, the average tariff has fluctuated all the way between fifteen and fifty per cent. on imported goods.

From 1814 to 1824 the tariff was low, and the country experienced a surfeit of British manufactures that effectually closed our own industries. In 1824 Lord Brougham, in the House of Commons, made the benevolent statement that "England could afford to bear some loss on the export of her goods, for the purpose of destroying foreign manufactures in their cradle." This sentiment, and the general distress that its practical application had caused in the United States, aroused the attention of our statesmen, and they resolved to meet the emergency. General Jackson, in advocating the passage of a protective tariff, in 1824, said, in a spirited and patriotic letter to Dr. Coleman:

"We have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of Europe, feed our own; or else, in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall be paupers ourselves. It is, therefore, my opinion that a careful tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt, and afford us the means of that defence within ourselves on which the safety and liberty of our country depend; and last, though not least, give proper distribution to our labor, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence, and wealth of the community."

In that same year (1824) the tariff was increased, and the result was so decidedly favorable that it was further increased in 1828 to an average of thirty-three per cent. on the aggregate of im-

portations. The former distress was followed by great prosperity in every department of industry.

As describing faithfully the opposite effects of free trade and protective tariffs, two brief quotations from Henry Clay may be introduced. Subsequent to the passage of the tariff of 1824, he said, in a speech in the House:

"If I were to select any term of seven years since the adoption of the present Constitution, which exhibited a scene of the most widespread dismay and desolation, it would be exactly the term of seven years immediately preceding the establishment of the tariff of 1824."

Again, in the Senate, in 1832, Henry Clay, in a speech on the changed condition of the country, said:

"If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present Constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824."

Take another period: In 1833 the tariff was reduced to an average of only eighteen and a quarter per cent. on the aggregate of imported goods. The revenues fell from \$36,596,118 in 1831, to \$15,104,790 in 1840. Many yet remember the distress of those years, which culminated in a general smash-up all around in 1837. All our factories were closed, and the shipping lay idle at the wharves dismantled, with their sides covered with canvas, in order, as far as possible, to preserve them from decay. Gold was at a premium of seventeen to twenty-two per cent., and banks, merchants, and farmers collapsed together, and mechanics and laborers went begging for bread during the day, and lay upon the public parks at night, unable to pay for a night's lodging.

Later: From 1841 to 1846 the "free list" was again taxed, and the general tariff was made highly productive. The change in public affairs, and in the condition of the country, was rapid and thorough, and even more emphatic, if possible, than that which followed the protective tariffs of 1824 and 1828. The revenues rose from \$15,104,790 in 1840,

to \$30,952,416 in 1845, over one hundred per cent. in five years.

Another period: In 1846 the tariff was again reduced to nineteen per cent. average on the aggregate imports, and it continued at this rate until 1860. British manufactures again deluged our markets, and the value of our annual importations went up from \$117,254,564 in 1846, to \$361,468,520 in 1855, while the increase in the exports and the revenues were comparatively insignificant.

The discovery of gold in California, the introduction in the United States of clipper ships, in competition with English vessels in the Pacific trade, and the increased demand for our agricultural products abroad—owing to the potato disease in Ireland, and the failure of other crops in Europe—all combined, with other auspicious circumstances, to buoy up our industries for a brief period. But it was only ten years after the substitution of a revenue, or low tariff, for one that was protective, when a general commercial and manufacturing crisis was inaugurated "by the failure of the great Ohio Life and Trust Company and the Bank of Pennsylvania, and the suspension of specie payment by almost every bank in the country." Trade and business of all kinds were paralyzed; the factories were closed, and little work and low wages characterized that gloomy period. Merchants failed by thousands, and the country suffered an experience nearly equal to that of 1837.

The current period: In 1861 the tariff was raised, and also in each succeeding year, until it reached an average of forty-four per cent. on the aggregate of our importations, and forty-seven per cent. on the average of dutiable goods alone. During the earlier years of this period, a war was sustained at a cost of from two to three millions of dollars per day, against a large section of our own country and people; yet the tariff furnished a revenue which increased with each increase of the tariff, from \$39,582,125 64 in 1861, to the enormous amount of \$216,370,286 77 in 1871. The war was carried to a successful termination, and the national stability

and credit were reestablished on a firmer basis than ever before. As the rebellion was drawing to a close, a general impression prevailed in the public mind that a commercial crisis would follow, as an inevitable result of the unprecedented drain upon the National Treasury. But peace returned, and the prosperity of the country continued, not only unchecked, but now each successive year affords evidence on all sides of great prosperity and solid progress in every department of industry. Our domestic exports, amounting in value in 1860 to \$316,242,423, had increased in 1872 to \$549,219,718, presenting the extraordinary spectacle of nearly doubling in twelve years, against the highest tariff ever imposed since the organization of the Government. Equally rapid has been the increase of our vast internal commerce, and the advancement in mining, manufacturing, agricultural, and other industries—indicated by the fact that the number of miles of railway in the Union has been doubled within the last twelve years, and by the still more pleasing fact that artisans, factory operatives, mechanics, miners, farmers, and laborers are all employed and amply remunerated.

In short, at no former period in the brief history of the Union has the tariff been so largely protective as during the last twelve years; and even against the drawback of a protracted war carried on at an enormous cost, it is safe to say that at no previous time has the basis of our national prosperity been so broad or so substantial as at present. The recent Wall street squall severely tested and thoroughly proved the substantial basis of the general credit and progress. In referring to this subject a few days ago, the *London Telegraph* said:

"With a cotton crop of four million bales, with a prodigious wheat harvest, with even such minor products as rice, sugar and tobacco more abundant than usual, and with all the Old World waiting to buy these at high prices, America may laugh to scorn the idea of serious loss or prolonged embarrassment. The plain truth is that such local troubles as are seen in the failure of Messrs. Jay Cooke & Co., are themselves the rank

outgrowth of exuberant prosperity—mere accessories to a progress which does not for an instant halt.”

DOES A PROTECTIVE TARIFF ENCOURAGE MONOPOLY?

The Free-trade League are laboring to make the farmers believe that it does. It will require no very deep investigation of the subject, to discover that there is no basis for the charge. How is it possible in a country where all are upon an equal footing, where capital, brain, and muscle are alike free to embark in any enterprise, or follow any occupation or business that promises the largest or surest returns? This monopoly cry is an unadulterated absurdity, and those who use it for an argument know that it is not true. Alexander Hamilton may not have been as astute and well informed as those learned agents of the Free-trade League who have been sent out to enlighten the Western grangers, but his statesmanship and sagacity are pretty generally acknowledged. In his famed report as Secretary of the United States Treasury, he said :

“But though it were true that the immediate and certain effect of a tariff was an increase of price, it is universally true that the contrary is the ultimate effect with every successful manufacture. When a domestic manufacture has attained to perfection, and has engaged in the prosecution of it a competent number of persons, it can be afforded, and accordingly seldom or never fails to be sold cheaper, in process of time, than the FOREIGN article for which it is a substitute. *The internal competition which takes place soon does away with everything like monopoly*, and by degrees reduces the price of the article to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reason of the thing and with experience.”

This was written eighty-one years ago, and to prove the correctness of Secretary Hamilton's statements, one illustration may be given : It is less than twelve years since steel rails could be afforded for railways, though their superiority over the iron rail had long been acknowledged. Under Bessimer's new, rapid, and cheaper process of converting iron into steel, rails manufactured from

steel became practicable. English manufacturers engaged extensively in the work, and furnished rails for American railways, in 1862, at \$200 per ton. The price was large, but railroad directors in the States said they would rather pay \$200 per ton for steel rails than use iron rails furnished for nothing. Capitalists in the United States proposed to Congress that if they would give them a protection of one cent per pound on steel rails, they would erect steel works, purchase the use of the Bessimer patents, and produce steel rails of better quality and at lower cost than the English rails. The duty was imposed, and the capitalists put up their works. What has been the result? Here are the average prices of steel rails since their introduction from England and manufacture in this country:

In 1862, price per ton	\$200
In 1865, price per ton	175
In 1867, price per ton	165
In 1869, price per ton	125
In 1871, price per ton	100

From this we see that American competition has brought the price down to just one-half that was paid for English rails in 1862; and yet British manufacturers continue to compete with our manufacturers, paying transportation and duties; or, what is the same thing, selling to American contractors at prices which, when transportation and duties are added, are not above the prices of American-made steel rails. Here we have an illustration of the direct tendency of protection in reducing prices. Yet Mr. Atkinson, a prominent Boston revenue tariff man, claims that the manufacture of steel rails should not be fostered by a protective tariff. He says :

“The consumption of steel rails has been obstructed for the ostensible benefit of a little force of workmen in steel works.”

There are now ten steel-rail works in operation in this country, put up at a cost of over ten million dollars. They are distributed over the country as follows: One each in Harrisburg, Pittsburg, Bethlehem, and Johnstown, Pa.; Troy, N. Y.; Detroit, Mich.; Cleveland,

Ohio; Joliet, Ill.; and two in Chicago; and just now the announcement comes by telegraph from England that a company of English capitalists are about to throw up the business there, and transfer their machinery, capital, and workmen to Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where they propose to erect and run a large establishment for the manufacture of steel rails!

Where is the monopoly in this, or in any other branch of industry protected by a judicious tariff? Even Mr. Wells himself, in his annual report to the Secretary of the United States Treasury for 1869, made the admission that the effect of an increase of the tariff is, "in the first instance, to increase and quicken production, and subsequently to *reduce prices through the competition engendered.*" So we see it is "competition" and not monopoly that protection invites.

DOES A PROTECTIVE TARIFF ENHANCE PRICES?

A tariff for protection may, and possibly does in some cases, raise the price of certain manufactures at first; but the ultimate tendency and invariable result is to create home competition and reduce prices to the lowest paying profit at which they can be produced at home or abroad. But the theory of free-traders is that a tariff enhances the price of goods to the extent of the duty imposed. Here is the statement of the Free-trade League of New York, taken from one of their recent publications:

"The tariff raises the price of both American and foreign articles. This necessarily follows from the foreign article selling here; for if the American was not raised to the same price it would undersell the foreign, and the foreign could not be sold."

A more illogical and absurd statement could scarcely be made. "If the American was not raised to the same price it would undersell the foreign." This is just what the protected American article is now doing. In 1862 England furnished all the steel railroad rails used in the United States at \$200 per ton. Under a protection of one cent a pound American steel works were erected, and

in 1871 our own manufacturers supplied the market at \$100 per ton. In 1860 nearly all the cutlery consumed in the United States came from England; now the trade circulars issued in England state that American cutlery is competing successfully in English markets with their own manufactures. In 1860 a very large proportion of the iron used in this country came from England; now American iron is exported to that country at a profit to the trade. In 1860 we made no Axminster carpeting, and no capitalist would attempt its manufacture until the tariff was imposed; now American Axminster carpets are supplied to the trade at a dollar a yard less than the price of the imported article. John L. Hayes, Esq., of Boston, secretary of the "National Association of Wool Manufacturers," in a recent report on the progress of American manufactures, says: "We have, since the protective tariff of 1862, succeeded in making the European palace carpet, known as the Axminster carpet, superior in strength and wear to the French carpet, and in beauty and finish so exact a copy of the original that, side by side, it is difficult to detect any difference. These," says Mr. Hayes, "we make at so low a cost that we have compelled the manufacturer of the foreign article to reduce his price a dollar or two a yard, although the American Axminsters are frequently put upon the market and sold for the foreign article." In Brussels and other rich and expensive carpets similar results have been reached, and the prospect now is that as in the case of iron, cutlery, steel shovels, watches, clocks, sewing machines &c., our carpets will soon find profitable markets on the other side of the Atlantic.

Of home manufactures there has been brought out within the last five years, a very large class of dress goods, embracing nearly every variety required for ladies' wear. "Our silks," says Mr. Hayes, "our lustrous, our serges, and a great variety of cotton stuffs, of a class not made in this country at all until

within the last five years, challenge comparison with any similar goods made abroad. And in the article of carpets," he continues, "I say without hesitation that we surpass the manufacture of any other country on the globe. But the great fact to be looked at," he adds, "is that we have not only done all this, but *we have been enabled to make these goods cheaper through the competition that grows out of our protective system.*"

If the reader in any of our larger cities where a wholesale business is done, will take the trouble to make inquiry, he will find that flannel goods (and they are the basis of cloths and other woollen fabrics) are on a gold value from fifteen to twenty per cent. cheaper now than they were in 1863. This fact is well known to the wholesale trade, though retail establishments may not have so informed their customers. The same is true of many other descriptions of manufactures. Says Mr. Hayes: "We make all our undergoods, stockings, hosiery, and goods for underclothing, amounting to some \$40,000,000. Three or four years ago we made no goods of the class that are made fitted to the form; but we have succeeded in making those also, not by hand, but by machinery, and surpassing in quality any goods of the kind that are made abroad. The result of this has been that American competition has actually reduced the prices of the foreign articles."

This is our experience under a protective tariff, and when our currency, at no distant day, reaches a gold value, the prices of all staple and most of the minor articles of manufacture will range lower than at any former period in our history, excepting on extraordinary occasions under the pressure of a crisis or other unfavorable circumstances. Free-traders may continue to spin fine theories, but Alexander Hamilton was right when he said that under protection, "the internal competition which takes place soon does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the price of the

article to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital invested."

WHO PAYS THE DUTIES. THE PRODUCER OR THE CONSUMER?

The theory of the Free-trade League, and which they are now industriously endeavoring to instil into the minds of the grangers is, that a tariff duty, under all circumstances, is a tax imposed upon and taken from the pockets of consumers. They go further, and assert that not only imported goods are increased in price to the full extent of the duty imposed, but that all our own productions, of a like nature, are raised in price to the same extent. But that the writer may not be charged with misrepresentation, it will be well to reproduce the words of Mr. Wells, as they are recorded in one of his official reports as Special Commissioner of Revenue. Some of these reports are republished by the Free-trade League, and circulated among the grangers. Mr. Wells says: "We select as our first illustration the article of lumber, on which the Government levies a duty of twenty per cent. *ad valorem*, which rate, by the addition of the percentage which the importer almost invariably will add, by reason of the payment of the duty, may probably be considered as equivalent at the present time to twenty-five per cent." But this is not all. Says Mr. Wells: "Two things follow as a matter of necessity: first, that whatever duty is imposed on the foreign product is paid wholly by the consumer, and is therefore equivalent to so much direct tax; and secondly, that the price of the imported article regulates and determines the selling price of the domestic product, at least for all that portion of the latter which is exposed to the competition of the foreign supply in the open and leading markets." Nor is this all. Following up a false theory Mr. Wells goes on to say: "Twenty-five per cent. in the increased price of lumber means twenty-five per cent. in the increased price of houses, twenty-five per cent. in the increased price of vessels, of fences, of railroad ties, and other

constructions of which wood is the principal constituent." And now comes the climax: "All these find their expression in the increase of wages, and in the cost of other forms of raw material; and these in turn augment the cost of manufactures; and thus the wave of taxation, emanating from a common centre, continues to extend and enlarge itself, until no man can measure the breadth and power of its influence."

This is simply nonsense. Let us examine the facts, and the result in this will apply to all similar cases. The average annual of importation of lumber in 1866-'67, and later, has been 500,500,000 to 555,500,000 feet, while the home product has averaged 10,000,000,000 feet. The imported and home quantities are then to each other as one to twenty-five, our home product being twenty-five times greater than the quantity imported. Our markets are, of necessity, controlled and prices fixed by the greater and not by the lesser supply. This being the case the foreign article must pay all the costs, including tariff duties, of getting into these markets, and then be sold at the prices already established by the larger American supply. The tax comes out of the pockets of the foreign producer. The same result prevails in all cases where the home product is materially larger than the quantity imported. If we should renew the tariff on tea and coffee the duty would be drawn wholly from the pockets of the consumer, as no portion of the quantity consumed is produced at home. But with the exception of tea, coffee, spices, tropical fruits, silks, and a few other articles, our home productions are largely, as in the case of lumber, in excess of the quantities of similar articles imported. To the same extent they control our markets and establish prices, and before foreign goods can come into competition with home products, they must bear all the costs of transportation, commissions, and duties, and then be disposed of at prices already established by the larger supplies of American products. The revenues from the tariff have averaged

\$200,000,000 per annum during the last five years, of which at the lowest estimate \$100,000,000 per annum are paid by the foreign producer, virtually for the privilege of competing with our manufacturers and farmers in their own markets. Yet Free-traders will tell you, practically, that "if a pumpkin is brought across the line from Canada, at Eastport, in Maine, its price will regulate the price of pumpkins in California." If the tax of 20 cents per bushel imposed on foreign wheat raises the price of our entire crop 20 cents per bushel, then "the farmers of Illinois get \$21,063,200 tariff on their yearly crop; those of Iowa \$12,617,250; Missouri farmers would receive \$7,861,000; those of Michigan \$9,713,000," and all the farmers in each State throughout the Union in the same ratio. Do the grangers thus find themselves enriched?

EFFECTS OF THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF ON WAGES AND LABOR.

The statement will not be questioned that in the United States, under a protective tariff, wages are at least fifty per cent. higher than in any other part of the world. How far protection to our industries, by the adjustment of the tariff, has contributed to this result, is a matter of every day demonstration. We will not deduct one iota from our advantages of a broad geographical area, a diversified climate, superior soil, and untiring native energy. Under these auspicious circumstances, we might even adopt the free-trade theory, and in practice abolish the tariff, let Europe furnish our manufactures, we close our mills and furnaces, and all resort to agriculture as an occupation, and still live. But we would then be without markets for our increased agricultural surplus, without employment for workmen or wages to pay them; and very soon we should realize the experience of all past ages, that a country confined to agricultural pursuits is always impoverished, and can never advance in the scale of civilization; while, on the other hand, that country whose industries embrace the widest scope and greatest variety of pursuits is

invariably the most prosperous. Under a protective tariff this diversity has been secured in the United States to a very high degree. With it the demand for labor has increased; new industries have been opened, and wages have advanced. Immigration is annually adding half a million to our population, yet all are employed; and to-day there is not an able-bodied idle man, who is willing to be employed, within our borders. Even those who were thrown out of employment by the recent panic are returning to their former places, or are finding employment in other establishments.

Carefully-prepared tables, under the supervision of the United States Statistical Bureau, have demonstrated the fact that the average wages paid in the United States to artisans, mechanics, and workmen employed in the manufactories is fifty-four per cent. higher than the prices paid for similar work in England; yet provisions are higher there than here. England paid us during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1872, by the latest returns officially reported, \$20,853,047 for wheat, \$9,221,546 for corn, \$14,037, 448 for hams and bacon, \$7,065,912 for lard, \$6,095,820 for cheese, and large amounts for beef, pork, butter, flour, corn meal, &c. It is evident, therefore, that the cost of living in England must be higher than in the United States; and food averages seventy-five per cent. of the working-man's family expenses. If we go beyond England into France, Belgium, Prussia, Austria, &c., we find, according to returns made to the British Parliament by their consular agents abroad, that wages average thirty per cent. lower in those countries than in England. If we include mining and agricultural employments, the difference in the wages paid in Europe and the United States becomes still greater. But this is not the darkest side of the picture. By their own returns the melancholy fact is published, that there are thousands of able-bodied artisans and skilled workmen in England who cannot procure employment at any price. "The time was," says an English statesman in a recent publication,

"when our pauperism was confined to the aged and disabled; but now we have paupers pleading for work, and made paupers only because they cannot procure employment to keep themselves and their families from the poorhouse." This is a deplorable picture. Those of the impoverished English mechanics who can raise the means come to this country to seek employment, and always with success. They have a cordial welcome. But we cannot afford to remove our protective tariff, and fill the country once more with half-paid European manufactures, unless we are prepared to reduce our workmen to a level with the populations of our foreign competitors. Free trade is the direct road to low wages.

A PROTECTIVE TARIFF STIMULATES ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRY.

In Europe the working classes, with all the industry and economy it is possible to apply, are rarely ever enabled to accumulate even the smallest pittance over the average weekly expenses. If, with the plainest food and the cheapest clothing, they can keep their families together the object of their greatest ambition has been attained; and when worn out by age and hard labor, their only relief, in most cases, is a final tramp "over the hill to the workhouse." The sons adopt the same occupations their fathers followed, and so one generation succeeds another without any material change for the better in the moral and social condition of themselves or their families.

In the United States, where legislation looks first to the interests of the masses, and where native industries are fostered under a carefully-arranged protective tariff, the contrast is everywhere seen in the enterprise, ambition, and success of the working classes, who rise by regular steps to the highest positions in the line of their business.

The twenty millions of working people in the United States are not ignorant of the fact that the purchasing power of their incomes is at least one hundred per cent. greater than that of the incomes of the industrious classes in Europe. Nor are they insensible to the

truth that this superiority is mainly due to the fostering influences of the protective policy. It is this that secures to them an excess in their incomes over necessary expenditures. And it is this surplus that transforms the working-man of to-day into the capitalist of to-morrow. It lifts the crushing load of despair, under which his peer in Europe is forever kept down, from the mind of the industrious and prudent working-man in the United States, raises his wife above the sphere of a daily drudge, sends his children, neatly clad, to school, pays for his pew in the church of his choice, buys his lot and builds his cottage, accumulates his deposits in the savings bank, sets him up in business, when he takes his position among the builders or manufacturers in the community, and aids in the building up of the village, town, or city, adding to the value of every acre of real estate in his neighborhood. He then throws his energies and his capital into new railway or other important projects, inviting and giving employment to increasing population, and stimulating general enterprise throughout the State. But a few years ago the man thus advancing lived upon his weekly earnings, his savings alone from which, judiciously invested, have raised him from his former to his present position. Each reader can point to thousands of such cases, probably including himself. Take three illustrations, one each from the great West, the Keystone State, and the old New England States:

"The growth of woollen factories in the Northwest," says an observing writer in Wisconsin, "in the past ten years has been unprecedented. Wisconsin had fifteen in 1860 and about seventy in 1870, while in the group of the Western States there are now no less than six hundred. *These factories are owned largely by men of limited means, who have worked their way from the position of common laborers.*"

In Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, there are 696 boiling and heating furnaces; 497 nail, tack, and spike machines, and 13 railway-spike machines; 69 steam ham-

mers—some of them weighing 16,000 pounds; 195 engines; a score of rolling mills; 7 pig-iron furnaces; 48 foundries; over a dozen immense steel works—each producing annually from \$500 000 to \$1,500,000 worth of steel; 3 locomotive works; a number of rail factories, employing 400 men; about 75 glass works, producing glass goods annually to the value of \$7,000,000; 8 white-lead factories; sheet and bolt-copper works; 58 petroleum refineries; cotton mills employing 1,500 persons; woollen mills, and other industries. The entire product of Pittsburg amounts to just about \$100,000,000 annually, four-fifths of which goes West, Ohio being the largest purchasing State. James Parton, after a personal inspection of these industries, prepared an article on the subject for the *Atlantic Monthly*, in which he stated, in substance, that *nearly all the proprietors of to-day were the workmen a few years ago*, many of whom are Scotch-Irish naturalized citizens.

Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts are hives of manufacturing industries—their annual products approaching \$400,000,000. It is stated by close observers and statistical writers in those States *that seventy-five per cent. of the present owners of those manufactories started a few years ago as practical mechanics at weekly wages*. They are not only now at the head of the establishments, but are the owners of over fifty per cent. of the capital invested in all those industries.

Such are the effects of a judiciously-arranged protective tariff upon the interests of enterprise and industry in the United States.

THE RELATION OF THE TARIFF TO OUR AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

The success of agricultural industry depends upon its markets. Free-traders have always labored to make the farmers in the great prairie States of the West believe that their best market is in Europe, and that they are shut out from that by our own protective tariff. This is a deception. Our shipments of agricultural products to Europe never increased under

a low tariff, neither has the export of these commodities ever diminished as the result of home protection. England depends annually upon foreign production for about one-fifth of her breadstuffs and provisions. In favorable seasons the deficiency may be even less, or if her own crops are deficient, the demand will be larger. The market in that quarter for our agricultural products is changeable at best. Of her deficit, she obtains, according to her own statistics, from sixty-eight to seventy per cent. from the Baltic and Mediterranean countries. Steamship and railway transportation between England and those places has increased, and is still rapidly increasing, and competition is reducing transportation charges down to the lowest figures. When the crops are good in Russia, Turkey, Prussia, and Austria, their surplus gluts the English markets, and being the product of less than half-paid labor, both the supply and the price shuts that market, for the time, against shipments from America, even if grain could be shipped at New York for seventy-five or eighty cents a bushel, and other agricultural products at the same low rates. It is only when the crop is short nearer home that England looks to the United States for any considerable portion of her breadstuffs and other supplies for the table.

Agricultural success requires an even and reliable market, not a fickle and uncertain demand three thousand miles away, but a steady, annual home consumption, and the nearer to the farm the better. This can be procured only by bringing the factory close beside the farm. Three or four manufactories in a town will give employment to 1,500 operatives; these in turn will require food, clothing, shoes, books, schools, newspapers, and give employment to farmers, mechanics, teachers, printers, &c. A ton of steel rails for a railway is worth \$100. The price of the ore, and the coal in the mountain is merely nominal. Labor gives the value to the ton of rails; one-half of the wages paid for producing a ton of rails is expended by the workmen for provisions for themselves and

their families, so that some forty dollars' worth of agricultural products are consumed in each ton of rails manufactured. "A piece of fine cloth," said Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, "which weighs only eighty pounds contains in it the price, not only of eighty pounds of wool, but sometimes of several thousand weight of corn, the maintenance of the different working people and of their immediate employers. *The corn, which could with difficulty have been carried abroad in its own shape, is in this manner virtually exported in that of the complete manufacture, and may easily be sent to the remotest corners of the world.*" This is the cheap transportation that the Western farmers require, and which a tariff protection to our manufacturing interests is creating. The statistics show the marvellous fact that the average increase in our manufacturing industries since the introduction of the protective tariffs, commencing with 1861, has been fully one hundred per cent. This includes the manufacture of steel and iron, and manufactures from those products; the manufacture of cloths, cassimeres, shawls, flannels, blankets, hosiery, carpets, balmorals, kerseys, and the various mixed goods, together with nearly every variety of cotton and silk products. Factories for producing many varieties of these fabrics have been erected in the Southern and Western States, and their number is still increasing. Some of our railway steam-engine manufactories are turning out a locomotive regularly, the year round, every two days, each worth an average of \$15,000. As it is labor mainly that makes up the cost, each of these locomotives causes a consumption of not less than \$5,000 worth of agricultural produce in its construction. Allowing the product of the shop to be 156 locomotives in a year, they consume in their construction \$780,000 of agricultural produce. These and similar establishments create the markets that farmers require, instead of the precarious demand beyond the Atlantic. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, produces \$100,000,000 worth of iron and other goods annually, and consumes

\$50,000,000 worth of the products of the farm in their production. Pennsylvania is not depending upon a foreign market. All the immense quantities of wheat and other agricultural products that come annually from her broad and fertile valleys are consumed within her own borders. A little Pittsburg, or Lowell, or Lynn planted in Missouri, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Indiana, &c., with diversified manufacturing industries, on a less extensive scale, introduced into all the principal towns in each Western and Southern State, would afford the farmers in those vast agricultural areas the very best market, at their own doors, without the necessity of transportation, and free from the delays, risks, and uncertainties of European consumption.

RELATION OF THE TARIFF TO THE NATIONAL FINANCES.

To meet the drafts annually made upon the United States Treasury, a revenue, in round numbers, of \$300,000,000 is required. Of this amount \$100,000,000 come from our internal taxes, drawn directly from the pockets of the people. The other two-thirds of the entire revenues, or \$200,000,000, are the proceeds mainly of the tariff. About one-half of this amount is drawn from the earnings of our own people, and the other portion, or \$100,000,000, is paid by foreign producers, or their representatives, who avail themselves of the United States markets for the disposal of their commodities.

Now if, for the sake of argument, we adopt the free-trade policy, and reduce the tariff, say to one-half of the present scale of duties, this would leave the United States Treasury short just \$100,000,000 at the end of each fiscal year. But the free-traders will reply that the increase of importations would make up the deficiency. To do this, under the reduced scale of duties, we would require an importation of \$600,000,000 worth of goods, in addition to our present annual importation of nearly that amount of foreign products. With \$1,200,000,000 worth of foreign commodities, principally British manufactures, thrown upon our mar-

kets, what would be the effect upon our own manufactories, and the millions of artisans and workmen employed, directly and indirectly, by the proprietors of those establishments? Nothing could save the largest portion of them from idleness. If unemployed, they could no longer pay for agricultural products, and the farmers in turn must suffer. What then? When this problem can be satisfactorily explained to the grangers, by our free-trade theorists, the Western farmers may manifest a little more disposition to listen to the agents of the New York Free-trade League than they show at present.

So long as the Administration proposes to pay promptly the annual expenses of the Government, and the interest on the public debt, and to reduce the debt itself \$50,000,000 a year, it will be well to introduce no disturbing element into our present financial system. Our financial credit abroad was never better than at present, as is shown by the extraordinary flow of gold from Europe, since the recent financial panic, seeking investment in American securities at a trifle under standard values. The nation is prosperous and recovering rapidly from the disastrous effects of the war; the people are contented and bettering their condition year after year; the natural resources of the country are being steadily developed, manufactories are constantly increasing, and internal commerce is extending and becoming more and more valuable in every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and all this upon a basis that promises stability and permanency.

THE duty of the citizen is not wholly performed by the election of good men to office. Continued watchfulness over the public interests is needed. A cordial support of every measure tending to secure good government is an ever-present duty, which should never be neglected. The election of good men is an all-important duty; to render them the proper support is a duty no less binding.

MICHIGAN.

LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF THE
NEW CAPITOL BUILDING.

Probably no civic demonstration in the great Northwest equalled, certainly none has ever excelled, that which occurred at the laying of the corner-stone of the proposed new Capitol building at Lansing, on the 2d of October.

The military and Masonic organizations of the State were out in full force, and it is estimated that from 35,000 to 40,000 citizens participated in and witnessed the ceremonies.

We have no space for a description of the pageant, so creditable to the authorities and people of the State, evidencing an interest in public affairs which speaks volumes in their behalf, and which, if maintained, cannot fail to place the State in the front rank of mental and material progress.

After the procession, the proceedings on the grounds were opened by an address from Governor J. J. Bagley, as follows :

FELLOW-CITIZENS : In the name of the constituted authorities of the State, I bid you welcome to its capital. We have assembled for the purpose of laying the corner-stone of a new Capitol building, worthy of our State, a fitting home for the different branches of its Government. To those of us who have watched the growth of Michigan from infancy to manhood, the occasion recalls the toils and trials of early days, the anxieties and cares of pioneer life ; while a pardonable egotism as we look about us, tells of battles fought and victories won over Nature in her most rugged mood. To-day we stand here as conquerors of forest and swamp, and can proudly say : " If thou seekest a beautiful peninsula, behold it here."

In olden times, temples and public buildings were erected, not alone for use, but as memorials of king or conqueror, and inscribed with records of their valor and heroism. The temples have crumbled into dust ; king and conquerer are forgotten ; metal and granite have disappeared ; time has conquered all. And so it will be. But our greater civilization, with its triumphs of inventive art and skill, makes it certain that, though buildings may crumble away

and nations vanish, there will yet be left, somewhere, the history of to-day and all future days. Our record will be preserved. We shall not be judged in the distant future by the ruins of our buildings, dug up by the antiquary, but by the record of our deeds as individuals and communities, by our public acts, by our legislation, by our care for the public good. If we make moral worth, honesty of purpose and integrity of soul, the pathway to public position ; if our legislation is kept pure and sweet ; if the common good is the common law, we shall leave behind us a history more enduring than brick or marble, a heritage richer than gold or precious stones. May this be the ambition of our time and our hope for the future, remembering always, that

" The riches of the commonwealth
Are free, strong minds, and hearts of health ;
And more to her than gold or grain,
The cunning hand and cultured brain."

This was followed by an eloquent and instructive prayer by the Right Rev. S. A. McCoskry ; upon the conclusion of which a most masterly address was delivered by the Hon. William A. Howard, which should be read and remembered by every citizen of the State.

We make room for the following extract, which is full of instruction to every citizen of the Republic :

We are told upon the highest authority that " *The powers* that be are ordained of God." And hence we may conclude, without presumption, that He who made the world and all things therein ; He who formed this peninsula, with its productive power and its hidden treasures, wills that it should be not only the abode of his creatures but the seat of a great, prosperous and free State. All our physical development for the thirty-seven years, all our increase of wealth, all the unfolding of our vast resources, are but the adornment of the peninsula that she may the more effectively woo the Heavenly Pilgrim. As a bride adorns herself for her husband, so every successive day she puts on still more beautiful garments and beckons the divinely appointed State to her bower. Her vast agricultural treasures that block up the thoroughfares, and crowd the marts of the world, all utter their voice, all say " Come." Her hundreds of thousands of tons of iron ore that annually come forth from their mountain seat, and leap into all

the channels of the commerce of the world say "Come." Her rich and extensive copper mines say "Come." Her forest of boundless wealth wave their welcome, and say "Come." From year to year she displays her jewels, ever growing in brightness, and says with increased persuasiveness, "*Si quaeris peninsulam amoenam circumspice.*" The evidences are everywhere abundant that Providence designed and fitted this peninsula to be the abode of an industrious and happy people, the place of an advanced civilization, the seat of a great, prosperous, independent, and free State.

What, then, is a State in distinction from the territory where it exists? A free government is simply the organized power of the good, consolidated and wielded to restrain the bad and to protect the weak from the encroachments of the strong; or, in other words, to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to all the people. All courts interpret its will, and all executive officers execute its decrees. The sheriff goes forth with its processes, and even when supported by the *posse comitatus*, or the whole military power, he is only the minister of its will. Such a government is right in its conception and organization, and so far must receive the approbation of Heaven. "Order is Heaven's first law" and such a government, existing for, and securing the good of, the governed is the creature of God." We can hardly conceive of the existence of such a government without admitting the truth of the fundamental axioms of the Declaration of Independence; for such a government can only rightly exist by the consent of the governed and for the good of the governed.

A State is the people in a given territory and their institutions.

A free State consist of the people and such institutions as they make for themselves.

A despotic State consists of the people and such institutions as are imposed upon them.

A free State lives in the will of its people! Public sentiment shapes its course and controls its action! We judge of a State by the same rule as an individual. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Their character must be determined by what they do! But if they do what public opinion demands, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened and virtuous. Hence it has come to be axiom, that the only true basis of a Republic is the intelligence and morality of its people. Experience goes far towards proving that the more closely the public morality is allied to

and springs from the personal religion of the individual citizens, the better it endures the trial. The basis of public morality is the enlightened consciences of individual citizens.

The first duty of every free State, commanded by the highest of all laws—the instinct of self-preservation—is to foster institutions for the promotion of the intelligence and virtue of its people. Michigan's first Governor, in his first message, warns us that the "liberty of a people cannot be forced beyond its intelligence." And he might have added, it cannot long survive the decay of public morality. Governments rise and fall, and nations decay and pass away, but the great principles that pertain to rightful government remain unchanged and unchangeable. The Creator seems to have stamped his own immutability upon justice and truth and other like characteristics.

Another important function of a State is to provide for the unfortunate, the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the insane. Humanity requires this at the hands of the State, since a kind of treatment is often required that friends and relatives could not furnish, nor could any system of voluntary charity meet the case so well; and since all are liable to these terrible calamities, it is proper that all should aid, under the control of the State, in making suitable provision for unfortunates of this class.

To guard well the public health, to provide for the common defence, to preserve the public peace, to secure to every man the reward of his own toil, to secure freedom to worship according to the dictates of one's own conscience, and to distribute equally the public burdens, are among the proper functions of the State. Let Michigan be tried by any or all of these, and she will not be found wanting. Her brief career of less than two score years has marked a progress in all those things that characterize a well-developed State, that gives her a high position among her sister States of the Union. She is to-day the "New England" of the "Northwest," in many of those things which should characterize a free State. Time will not permit me to present the details of what has been achieved under these several heads, but the steady and rapid progress in our educational institutions challenges attention, even in this hasty sketch. Thirty years ago Detroit, Michigan's chief city, had a population of a little more than ten thousand. She had not at that time a public or common school, as they were called, of any kind—much less a "free school"—in the whole city; and now the number of children

enrolled in schools absolutely free, is greater, by at least three thousand, than the whole population at that time; and that city appropriates for the maintenance of her free schools this year \$161,150. These schools had worked so efficiently, that on the 1st of June, 1870, notwithstanding the rapid growth and influx of foreign population, it was found by the census that the whole number of persons above the age of ten years who could not read was only about 6 8-10 per cent. of the entire population; and of these 5 5-10 per cent. were foreign born, and only 13-10 native born. On the 1st of June, 1870, less than four-sevenths of the population of Detroit were native born, but only about one-sixth of the children in attendance were of foreign birth; showing that if our citizens of foreign birth had availed themselves of the advantages of the schools to the same extent as did those to the manor born, the illiteracy of the city would have been reduced to still smaller proportions. But the taxpayers of our commercial metropolis should count themselves more than paid

by results so encouraging. Results have been equally satisfactory throughout the State. By the returns of 1872 it appears we had 79 stone school-houses, 595 brick, 4,153 frame, and 591 constructed of logs—in all, 5,418, and they were of the aggregate value of \$7,470,339. Their value had nearly quadrupled in the eight years immediately preceding, and public opinion is growing stronger and more healthy every day. The number of graded schools was 292. The whole number attending school that year was 303,212. The whole number of qualified teachers was 11,642, and the whole amount paid for teachers' wages was \$1,658,891 54. The various denominational schools have, in their limited sphere, contributed to the education of the people. The State Normal School and our various colleges have helped to swell the army of qualified teachers. The university is the pride of the State, an honor to the nation, and is destined to share the glories of the world of letters with the older institutions of the world.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE SOUTH.

It is almost as difficult to describe the political situation in the Southern States as it is for Northern men to understand it. It seems incomprehensible how a State, with a vast number of Republican voters, if not a majority, should be entirely under control of Democratic office-holders.

Take, for example, the State of Georgia, which was perhaps the most loyal of all the seceding States, and which by a popular vote, even of the whites, would never have seceded; and in her State Legislature, out of two hundred and twenty-five members of both houses there are only about a dozen Republicans.

There were a great many Old Line Whigs in Georgia who were Union men during the war, and these, with a few Northern men, immigrants to the State since the war, formed the nucleus of the Republican party. But the Southern Whigs were as bitterly opposed to "the nigger" as the Southern Democrats, and when it was proposed to call in the freedmen to assist in the furtherance of Republican principles, this element with-

drew from the Republican party, their prejudices being stronger than their principles. The Republican party was, then, at first composed of three elements, the native whites, who were mostly old Whigs, a few Northern settlers—all denominated *carpet-baggers* by their opponents—and the freedmen who were the chief voting strength of the party.

Combined, this party had a handsome majority; but with the loss of the Old Line Whigs, the two parties were left nearly equal in point of numbers, with a small majority for the Democracy. How is it, then, the Legislature is not a representative body of the people, and cannot readily become so? To explain this will be the object of this article.

The first Legislature after reconstruction was not *all* chosen by the people, but many members took the places of the ineligible Democrats by virtue of having the "next highest number of votes," thus making a Republican majority in both houses. At the next election, however, the situation was changed; and to understand the cause of this change, one must be well acquainted

with the *character* of both the white and colored elements of the party as existing at present in the Southern States. The Whigs, educated to look down upon the black man as an inferior and degraded race, could not brook the idea of being associated with them on a political equality, and could not bear the contempt and ostracism of white neighbors, and so withdrew from the Republicans, and either remained neutral or joined the Democracy.

The Freedmen, it must be remembered, had for generations been educated to serfdom, and were utterly dependent upon some other persons for everything but muscular strength. This was not a voluntary condition, but one enforced by very stringent laws. The natural results of this education were a suspicious, timid, careless, dependent nature. They were kept totally ignorant of everything (as far as possible) except the one groove they were compelled to move in of swinging the hoe or "toting" the basket. Even this simple, regular movement was directed and controlled by an overseer, and the why and wherefore of it all the laborer knew as little about as of geometry.

Such is the main voting strength of the Republicans in the South; and where there were a few men of intelligence to lead and control it there was no trouble about electing their party men. But the great difficulty, next to the ignorance and dependence of the freedmen, was, that only a very few counties where they were in the majority had any body to lead and control them after the withdrawal of the native Whig element. They *would* not vote the Democratic ticket unless hired to do so, and *could* not vote the Republican ticket because they had no one to make up a ticket with, to tell them when and where to vote, or to help them hold an election.

For the same reason no "justices of the peace" were elected by the Republicans; so, these officers having control of the polls, the places were filled by appointment, and there being no Republicans competent to fill these positions, of

course Democrats were put in, and since then all elections are entirely under the control of Democratic managers. See, now, how this combination of forces works.

According to the constitution of Georgia, a voter is disfranchised by not paying his taxes for the year previous to the time of voting. Even in counties where they have leaders to tell them when and where and how much tax they must pay they often neglect it, or are persuaded to pay two or three times over by unauthorized persons, and seldom or never take receipts of the collector when they pay him. Where they have no leaders of intelligence, they neither know when, where, how much, or to whom taxes must be paid, or when and where they must go to vote, or what they are voting for. Many amusing and true anecdotes are told of their mistakes in this respect. They drop their ballots in the post office in private letter boxes along the mail-carriers' routes, or they meet at their church and vote for their candidate's name by holding up their hands, &c. Some think that to get free schools, or their seats in the jury-box, or the interference of the military in their behalf, they have only to hold a meeting and vote for it. But let us take for illustration a county where there are a few intelligent Republicans to lead the masses:

Election day is appointed. In cities there will be but one voting place for thousands, while in the country every militia district is a voting place, though only a few voters may reside in it. The polls are all under the management of Democratic justices or freeholders. The freedmen are advised by the Republican leaders when and where the election takes place, and that they must pay their taxes for the last year before they can vote, &c. They live one, five, ten, fifteen miles from the voting precinct. Election day comes. They are told by their employer they must not leave their work that day; if they do they will be discharged. Some go any way; some are afraid, and stay at home. Those who go are met by a white neighbor—a clever

man perhaps—who has shown them an occasional kindness. He tells them election day has been postponed—they will lose their wages, and, it may be, their situation—they had better not risk it on uncertainties. Some turn back; others go on, determined to satisfy themselves. They arrive at the place of voting. A Democratic justice, knowing it to be a large Republican district, refuses to open the polls. All the freeholders do the same; or, if the vote is received, some error is purposely committed in making up the returns, so they will be thrown out. If there are freedmen qualified by being freeholders to open polls, they have not the intelligence, or they are easily frightened out of attempting it by the white Democrats. So, a large crowd collects; some return home disappointed, others conclude to go on to the next voting place, five or ten miles distant. Here, perhaps, they find the polls opened, it being a Democratic precinct, or perhaps the only intelligent Republicans in the county are here to manage things for them. (They could not superintend all the polls in the county.) The colored voters cannot read their tickets, and many have counterfeit tickets slipped into their hands, or they have not brought their tax receipts, or they have brought the one for the wrong year—it may have been dated wrong purposely by the Democratic collector—some have brought money to pay their taxes, but no one can or will receive it. A few have the right receipt, or swear they have paid, and are allowed to vote.

When the voting is over, if by chance the Republicans have the majority, the Democratic managers fail to send the count to the court-house for consolidation till one or two days behind time; or if the count is sent in all right, some slight informality, accidental or designed, in the way the returns are made out, gives the managers sufficient cause for rejecting the votes of all Republican precincts. Thus, it will be seen, the entire elections of a State are under the absolute control of the Democratic managers, who, though very often ignorant

and illiterate men, are called upon to decide delicate legal technicalities, and the only appeal is by a tedious and expensive contest, to be decided in turn by the Legislature, composed of the same party men.

But suppose, again, the entire Republican ticket is elected in a county. The officers-elect go before a magistrate to qualify and receive their commissions. The magistrates say their term of office has expired, or they have resigned, and cannot swear the new officer in, or they object to his bondsmen. The bondsmen are ready to swear they are worth the required amounts; it is all of no avail. Thus, in a State with the voting strength of both parties nearly equal, one party has scarcely a friend or representative in power from Governor down to coroner.

One resource is left still for the party in power: Suppose the Republican county officers do succeed in qualifying, and receive their commissions; the Legislature immediately passes a special act appointing a board of commissioners, consisting of five or six Democrats from that county to manage all its affairs. Thus, the legally elected county officers are superseded, and the whole government is still in the hands of the usurping power.

The enforcement act, provided by Congress as a remedy for all this evil and injustice, has been found inadequate, for this reason: in most cases the only party to make complaint against the dishonest manager, or intimidator, is a freedman, and where a dollar bill fails to prevent his making complaint, or adhering to it after it is made, a secret threat whispered in the hearing of the timid accuser makes him perjure himself.

The writer makes these statements from personal knowledge and experience.

What, then, is the remedy for this great evil? is a question now agitating politicians. Education—"universal" or "compulsory" education—we hear some say. But even this must be national, for if left to the State the condition of affairs will not be changed at all. What will

a State like Georgia do towards educating Republican voters? An outward show of favoring free schools is made; but no schools for the freedmen are or will be established except where there are Republicans of sufficient intelligence to take the lead and help the poor colored people. But with a national free-school system all of these difficulties will be obviated; a centre of influence will be established in every county, and the teachers would form a band of leaders to advise and assist the freedmen or other ignorant class of citizens in the exercise of their rights and privileges. This is the very

reason the Democrats are opposed to such a system, the very reason they will do all in their power to prevent its adoption. The national system need not interfere with the local organizations. It might be made to apply only where there was no local system enforced, or to assist local or State organizations. That it is a necessity, millions of citizens are ready to testify, and if it should fail of being adopted, generations will pass with an ever increasing ignorance and its accompanying vices, and untold wealth and power be lost to the Government and nation. H. L. H.

PLAIN FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

We commend the following extracts from the able speech delivered by General Butler at the New Hampshire State Fair to all who take an interest in the practical questions of the day. Although the distinguished orator addressed himself to the agricultural interests of the country, the facts stated, and the conclusions reached, are equally applicable to all sections and to every branch of industry. In reference to the financial condition of the country, the General said:

The tendency of our people, whether in their national, municipal, and social organizations, or in their personal capacity, to go into debt, cannot have escaped the attention of every discerning mind. Indeed, drawing drafts on the future, payable by posterity, and burdening the present generation to pay the interest, is the resort for carrying on all enterprises, and has assumed such proportions, and is fraught with such consequences, that the mind of the statesman and the philosopher of political economics may well be turned to it with the greatest attention, if not alarm, because of its possible results upon our future prosperity. Our National Government is owing \$2,000,000,000, on which we are paying, as interest, an average of rising six per cent., reckoning that interest in the currency with which all our products are measured. At least three-fourths of that amount is due to foreign bankers and capitalists. If this were all, and no other consequences arose from it, there need be little anxiety, and it would hardly be worth the attention

of the statesman or economist in calculating the future of the nation. Divided among forty millions of people, in a country of the expanse and resources of ours, it would be easily managed. But every State in this Union, with hardly an exception, has debts amounting in the aggregate to quite \$400,000,000. But our indebtedness does not stop there. Quite every county, every city and town in every State in the Union owes debts, more or less, to an amount in the aggregate to perhaps one-half as much as the debts of the States, including the advances made for municipal, railroad, and other like enterprises.

Nor do we stop there. Our railroads have borrowed, and are owing a bonded debt of \$600,000,000. Nor does the furor of indebtedness yet stop. Almost every college and institution of learning, from the modest academy up to the university, each and all owe sums of which an approximation can hardly be made, and which no statistics show. Nay, we go still further. We draw upon posterity to get the means of hearing the Gospel. All know that a very large majority of the thousands of churches which the census shows have buildings dotting our lands, have been built on credit given, in fact, by the coming generation.

General Butler then showed how the proceeds of the war debt of the nation and of the bulk of the State debts were destroyed in the war; that costly public or educational buildings do not add to productive capacity, and that of the \$120,000,000, which we must annually pay abroad, only \$50,000,000 are the product of our gold and silver mines; the

rest must be paid from the products of the soil, exported abroad. He continued:

Now, as our statistics show that, as a rule, for the last eight years, not to go back further than the conclusion of the war, our imports of foreign merchandise annually exceeded our entire exports, including gold from our mines, which all goes abroad, you will naturally ask me, how has the interest in the meantime been paid, and how the balance yearly found against us of the difference between the amounts of our imports and exports? I have just stated to you that we owed substantially none of these national and State debts contracted during the war to the foreign bankers at its close, but we have been paying the balances of trade, which have been against us year by year, by expanding our interest-bearing bonds running for twenty and forty years, and selling them sometimes as low as sixty cents on the dollar to pay the interest on the bonds themselves, then already sold, and balances, until we have sent out of the country our notes or bonds to the immense sum before stated. Now, there must and will come a time when this sale of bonds abroad must stop, because our national income exceeds our expenditures, and we shall not incur any new debt, and nothing will be left us with which to pay the interest upon what we owe to foreigners, unless we export more than we import to an amount sufficient.

In the production of that which is consumed to support life of men and animals, we have, as agriculturists, been skimming the very cream from our lands, and at no very distant period shall be obliged to go back and go over them again and remove those which we have worn out. The time is within the memory of many who sit before me when the Genesee valley produced the wheat and flour which fed New England; yet within five years wheat raised by labor costing \$2 50 per day has been brought from California, fifteen thousand miles round the Horn, and ground in the mills of Rochester, in the centre of the State of New York, to feed its people. New England and New York next received their wheat from Virginia, raised on lands now overgrown with dark pine saplings, worn out by wasteful and exhaustive culture without renovation. Then St. Louis flour was the favorite brand in our markets. Now our bread is grown still further west and north, and Minnesota and Iowa are the wheat-producing sections of the country; and we look for our corn, which we once produced at home, to the lands of Indiana and Illi-

nois prairies, where, I admit, it is still produced in such quantities that, because of the exactions of railroads in their tariffs of freight for transportation of coal, corn is the cheapest material for fuel, were it not that he who burns it is burning the very heart out of the soil that cannot always bear the drain of its life-blood without replenishing.

We have been boasting and acting as if we could supply the world with bread-stuffs; and so we have done almost, and can do, if the iron horse is permitted to draw our wheat and corn to the seaboard without too great charge, and not eat up the crop before it reaches the consumer. But we must remember that for every bushel of wheat that crosses the ocean, nothing comes back which goes on to the land again, even if we do not pay our debts, national or individual, with it. Silks, satins, and broadcloths, which we receive in return, may dress our sons and daughters in the goodly array I see before me, but they do not dress the land, and the effect has been that the wheat-producing sections of our country recede westward, eating up new lands day by day, in turn to be given up, until jumping the alkaline plains, the Rocky mountains, and the Sierras, we are bringing the food for the population of Eastern cities from the western slope of the Pacific, raised in the rich fields of California, by labor drawn from the mines, the only other source of production from which to pay our debts abroad; and after these shall be exhausted, neither the "Star of Empire" nor the production of food can further "westward take its way." Let me give you an illustration of the manner in which we have used up another natural product necessary to the health and comfort of man, which we dealt with as if boundless, and indeed it seemed to be, and inexhaustible, as indeed it was not. How have we destroyed our pine forests, extending in a belt between the two oceans, and of the width of ten degrees of latitude above and below the great lakes! Within two generations we have so devastated our forests, sending lumber all over the world, besides using it recklessly and extravagantly for ourselves, that we are now depending upon the Dominion of Canada for the same means of building and furnishing our houses with the same material that our fathers used in building theirs, unless we quintuple the price, and in addition content ourselves with using a much inferior quality.

In the same manner we have taken all from our lands year by year, and returned nothing. Crop has succeeded crop, until in many cases the farms are abandoned

for the purposes of tillage, because the production in a few years does not more than pay the increased price of labor and material expended. Thus, you will see the double drain upon the country; first, that the produce is sent abroad and sold to pay the interest on a debt which has not aided and does not aid production; secondly, if anything else is brought back it is nothing that profiteth the land. We are literally, therefore, in this regard, burning the candle at both ends, and it becomes a problem of the deepest moment to the statesman and agriculturist how far this can go on and not sap the nation's wealth. Nay, not only this, but there is very little returned to the land from that which we use at home." Sent into cities and towns, and there consumed, that which might be saved from it is lost by our wastefulness and washed by the great sewers into the rivers and harbors, choking them with filth, and endangering the health of their people, by throwing that away which, if brought again upon the land, would be rich productiveness and untold wealth. There can be no more instructive example of our recklessness as agriculturists than the wastefulness of the very means we have of enriching our lands. We boast of our civilization and advancement in knowledge and the arts of

agriculture, and we speak with scornful contempt of the semi-barbarous Chinese; yet they utilize every atom of matter which may enrich the soil, and are thus enabled to produce more of the means of sustaining life and feeding a people from a rod of land than we obtain from an acre. But this drain upon our resources by the payment of our debt abroad, from which we get no return, is not the only evil of our system of indebtedness. The investment of money at interest simply, and not using it in manufacture, agriculture, or otherwise in aid of the production or preparation of the comforts and necessities of life, raises up and supports, of necessity, a class of non-producers which, living upon incomes, the principal of which does not aid in production, makes them the very drones of society, eating out a substance which they do not in any degree bring into being. There is not so expensive a class in a community as those who merely live upon incomes derived from the investments of money for non-productive purposes. "They toil not, neither do they spin; but the lilies of the valley are not arrayed like one of these."

The entire address is very able and interesting, and we should be glad to republish it were it not for lack of room

SHALL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY BE SUPERSEDED?

Good government is a rarity among men. Political science, which is the foundation of all statesmanship, has made but slow progress in centuries past. This is no cause of astonishment, because even the physical sciences—such as astronomy and chemistry—have just emanated from their infancy within the present century. But political science undertakes, not merely to provide for the welfare of all, but for the demands of our mental and social needs as well; thus, while few would be so presumptuous as to pass opinions upon an intricate problem in chemistry without having devoted years to its special consideration, hundreds feel themselves competent to be teachers in the press and the forum of political science who have never read even the history of government, which, after all, is but the outward form. Government, moreover, since it has expanded from the primitive idea of personal government on

the part of one or a few, absolutely has, on the part of the masses, vastly extended its scope. Modern powers have been compelled to assume a variety of administrative functions, which are ever augmenting, and which require the utmost skill and powers of organization. The history of France since 1830, with its five distinct revolutions, admonishes us that government is such a huge machine that it should be handled with the greatest care.

Good government is the foundation both of individual happiness and the general welfare of society. No matter with how much care and industry the individual may accumulate property, nor with what integrity he may discharge his duties as a citizen, and husband as a father, bad government, by its extravagant administration, will always sweep his earnings from him—directly, by taxation, or, indirectly, by causing a mone-

tary crisis, or by revolution and war. Therefore, it is of the highest concern to all that the best government attainable shall be striven for, and, if secured, shall be maintained.

There are, in fact, but two civilized countries where the entire responsibility of the administration rests upon the mass of the people; for even in England there is only a government of class, and not a government by all. The political franchise is a trust and duty, as well as a privilege. It is not in itself a source of happiness, but a great source of anxiety and care to the patriot, and as much of his conscientious consideration should be brought to bear upon the ballot-box as in the discharge of the most sacred duties of family life. In proportion as this great trust is faithfully discharged government will be faithful to its duties. In a free country political parties are an essential means towards ends, since, under our form of government, the will of the majority, exercised in a legal manner and within the boundaries founded upon the principles of the Constitution, is binding upon all.

For the last twelve years the majority of the citizens of the United States, under the name of the Republican party, has governed the country. This political party came into power as the exponent of the great idea of resistance to the further extension of human slavery, but it had scarcely taken possession of the Government when the slaveholders organized that great and fearful rebellion which has cost our nation nearly half a million of lives and four thousand millions of dollars. All the unprecedented difficulties of civil war, financial embarrassment, the military and naval conduct of the war, the hostility of France and England, and the processes of reconstruction were forced upon it for solution. When this great rebellion began, the annual income of the Government was only seventy millions of dollars, derived from customs duties; but in its progress the expenditures rapidly swelled to upwards of a thousand million per year, and it was the Republican party that devised

ways and means to meet this unprecedented demand. It found nearly two thousand State banks in existence, all independent of each other, and organized under different charters and State laws. These State banks issued no less than eight thousand distinct characters of bank notes, so that no merchant was safe in accepting the payment of a debt without consulting the bank-note detector, and even then millions of dollars were lost annually by counterfeit and raised bank notes, by bankruptcy, and by difference of exchange between the various sections of our country. In the field of statesmanship new problems were crowded upon the consideration of the Government from day to day. Emancipation, the entrance of the black man into the Army, the functions of the Freedmen's Bureau, the enfranchisement, education, and protection of the freedman, civil rights, and reconstruction had all to be encountered and overcome.

We enumerate some of the leading features of our past history, simply to show that, however great and insurmountable have been the problems for solution, the Republican party has successfully solved them all. It is the testimony, as evinced through the platforms of the Opposition, which protest that they accept the situation; that they accept all the facts accomplished, and promise to be loyal to them; that these questions were well and absolutely settled. If, then, the Republican party has done so well in these great things, it seems to us that it is the duty of the Republic to say "Well done, good and faithful servant."

But in the life of a nation, active and progressive as ours, new issues ever arise. No party, however brilliant may be its past, can live upon that alone. It must ever be ready to grapple with new problems and provide for their solution. The past only affords a guarantee that the same discipline and power which has enabled the party to bring the nation safely into port will characterize it in the future. Nor are the issues of the immediate future as difficult of solution

as those of the trying period of the war. The great fundamental principles have all been settled; liberty and equal rights for all are secured, and we are called upon to provide for the solution of economic questions. The restriction of the monopolizing tendencies of railway and other corporations; the provision of more adequate and cheaper channels of transportation; the more efficient and economical administration of the national, State, and municipal machinery; greater integrity and devotion in the civil service; the adjustment of national and State taxation, so that capital shall not escape its due proportion, and the assessment of import duties in a less intricate manner, are among the questions pressing upon public attention.

The evidence is overwhelming, because it is furnished by the platforms of all the State conventions of the Republican party that have assembled this summer, including those of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Wisconsin, Maine, and Massachusetts, that the party is ready to take up these questions and solve them in accordance with the will of the people. It is very true that the specific means of solution have not been pointed out, but we should remember that we are only at the dawn of the discussion, and that the life of a great nation which counts its age by a thousand years must not be compared with that of individuals. Even rapid progress would be made if ten years' careful consideration were to precede the final solution. It is better that we should advance carefully, and with that calm consideration so necessary to the Anglo-Saxon character, and settle a problem thoroughly and justly, than that we should try a number of legislative experiments in the dark. Certainly, so far as the National Administration is concerned, it has given no uncertain sound. President Grant, in his annual message, as well as in his inaugural address, before the grangers' agitation took any shape, spoke earnestly in favor of increasing the number of transit routes, so as to cheapen transportation. The Post Office Department has extended

the money-order post offices, has advocated the assumption of the telegraph system for the purpose of affording cheaper telegraphy, and has been favorably inclined to consider the creation of a postal savings-bank system. The better protection of immigrants, hydrography, national bank currency, bankruptcy, have received the most earnest consideration, and much progress, which the country generally does not observe, has been made within the last four years.

The most prominent men—the most prominent members of the Administration, in their individual capacity—have advocated the establishment of a national labor bureau, a national industrial school, fire insurance on real estate by the State governments, and the simplification of the tariff. A more civilized Indian policy, as well as civil service reform, has occupied the especial attention of the President and Cabinet. Notwithstanding the vociferous complaints of the Opposition press that the Administration is steeped in corruption, we are fully convinced that, considering the amount of money handled and the large territory covered by our Government officers, there has not only been an absolutely less rate of defalcation, when taken on a percentage, but there have never been fewer defalcations in number when compared with private business. Since the beginning of President Grant's second term, there have been discovered more defalcations in the city of Brooklyn alone than among all the Government officers of the United States. This is very remarkable, considering the example of extravagance and violation of trusts set to the executive officers by the last Congress when they voted a million and a half dollars for back salary, which action has been so sternly and uniformly rebuked by the people.

Efforts have been made by a large number of influential journals to fasten some degree of complicity in speculations upon the President, General Babcock, and upon all the members of the Cabinet, but in not a single case has the evidence sustained the charge. Many Congress-

men were implicated in the taking of Credit Mobilier stock, but not a single executive officer. While it is right and just that the people should strive to secure the highest attainable excellence, we question the propriety of the methods which are usually taken to secure that attainment. Indiscriminate denunciation of public officers, while it dulls the public ear upon the one hand, has a tendency to drive the best and most conscientious men from the acceptance of public trusts; and we believe it to be fully as much a duty of the independent press to speak well of Government officers, national, State, and municipal, when they deserve it, as to censure them in case of unfaithfulness.

It is true there are many men—some unconsciously influenced by personal aspirations, others by a dyspeptic temperament, and others by a greedy desire for office—who take a gloomy view of national affairs. They hold that the Republican party has become so corrupt that it cannot purge itself, and that, therefore, a new party must be formed, composed, as they claim, of the best elements of all parties, to carry on the Government. In the first place, it should not be lost sight of that the Republican party is the majority of the American people, and if this majority has become hopelessly corrupt, we have no evidence that the minority outside that party has attained a higher standard of moral excellence. Complaints are also made against ring, caucus, and party despotism, but we have nowhere seen suggestions whereby the machinery of primary conventions or elections for the purpose of selecting candidates for nomination can be dispensed with.

A new party must necessarily adopt the machinery of the old. Admitting that its aggregate members have, to some extent, more integrity than those of the Republican party, they would still be laboring under the difficulty of first obtaining power over the various branches of our Government, which in the case of the Senate could not be under four years, and they would have to try the experi-

ment of conducting the executive, legislative, and administrative functions of the Government, with new and inexperienced hands.

As the stream never rises higher than the fountain-head, no political party can be expected to set up a higher standard of moral excellence than the mass of its supporters. The mistake has been that so many men of weight and character have shirked their duties as citizens, and withdrawn their influence from the nominating conventions and primary elections. Whenever public sentiment earnestly insists that purity of character shall be considered the first requisite for office, and that no party devotion or intellectual ability shall be considered equivalent to it, the Administration and the party will find their hands strengthened to remove from office all doubtful men.

THE press is the guardian of our liberties. To keep it pure in its sentiments, is to add to its power and influence for good. A corrupt newspaper, like the deadly Upas tree, poisons all who come in contact with it. To accept its teachings, is to drink the unwholesome water flowing from a poisonous fountain. The pure sentiments of a good paper are to the mind what the cool sparkling water is to the body—refreshing and health-giving. Newspapers that teach justice and morality, and advocate honesty and patriotism as the basis of good government, should receive liberal support from all citizens who desire to advance the best interest of the public. A good paper should never languish for the want of support. It should be upheld, strengthened, and its usefulness enlarged by the patronage of those who believe in its sentiments. The great journals of our large cities may tend to enlighten the people on the news of the world, but to the country press, exerting its quiet influence in every section of our land, we are indebted for the moulding of public sentiment on all important public questions.

NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION.

The harmony and unity of purpose which characterized the New York Republican Convention, at Utica, September 24, give strong assurance of victory at the ballot-box this fall. The ticket nominated is unusually strong, every man upon it being well known for personal ability and integrity. The keynote of the campaign was sounded by the temporary chairman, Hon. David J. Mitchell, in his speech of acceptance. After referring to the objects of the meeting, the necessity for economy and retrenchment, the heavy debt which the Democratic party had entailed upon the city and State, and the firm stand taken by Governor Dix to correct existing abuses, he said:

"Let us not forget on this occasion what every patriot and lover of his country should forever bear in mind, that the insidious foe to republican institutions is corruption. Let us prove by our actions here and elsewhere that we are steeled against the enemy, and that we will tolerate its presence in no department of the Government, legislative, judicial, or municipal. We owe this duty to ourselves and to our children, to the memory of our fathers, and to the cause of liberty throughout the world. I trust I may express the hope that in our action to-day we shall derogate in no respect from the high professions of the Republican party. Let unspotted names be inscribed upon the banners under which we march to victory at the polls. Let our candidates be men who will see to it faithfully that the people's money shall not be unlawfully taken from the Treasury."

General Stewart L. Woodford was chosen permanent president. On taking the chair, he delivered a speech; reviewing the history of the party and its glorious achievements, and earnestly appealed to its followers to guard against those dangers which oftentimes accompany a feeling of security and strength. In reference to the future, he said:

"We must enforce honest administration, save every dollar of unnecessary and unwise expenditure, avoid useless and experimental legislation, encourage the States lately in rebellion to resume in practice as well as in theory the func-

tions of local self-government, encourage them to rely more upon themselves and less upon the general Federal authority. We must seek by economy, honesty, and practical common sense to cure the corruptions of man and the demoralizing tendency of great and long-continued political powers. In our own loved Commonwealth of New York we must keep these same ends of integrity and economy of administration steadily, strictly in view. The terrible corruptions in the local governments of our largest cities have burdened our municipalities with enormous local debts, whose full burden and extent are even as yet but partially realized. The great developments of local railroads by town and local aid has imposed a like indebtedness upon our rural townships and counties. It has been easy to borrow, and therefore has seemed easy to pay. It will be for some years difficult to borrow, and will therefore be difficult to pay. This strain will be severe. I trust it will be met bravely and honestly. But this one thing is sure: the tax-payers of the State will not and should not forgive any legislator or official who spends or votes one dollar in excess of actual need."

The following is the ticket nominated:

Secretary of State..Francis S. Thayer.
ComptrollerNelson K. Hopkins.
TreasurerDaniel G. Fort.
Attorney General..Benjamin D. Silliman.
Canal Comm'rSidney Mead.
State Engineer.....William B. Taylor.
Prison Inspector...Moss K. Platt.

THE PLATFORM.

Mr. Hopkins, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following, which were unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That, having abolished slavery, suppressed the rebellion, preserved the Union, established equal political and civil rights, restored the national credit, paid or refunded a large part of the national debt, relieved the burden of taxation, disarmed and abashed the threat of repudiation, provided a uniform national currency, adjusted grave foreign complications, assured general stability and prosperity throughout the land, and furnished a wise, economical, and wholesome administration of public affairs both in the nation and in the State, the Republican party has not only established the strongest title to the gratitude and confidence of the people, but has presented

the best pledge that it will be as true to every present and future obligation as it has been to every past requirement.

"Resolved, That, as well as the maintenance of these great achievements as for the fulfilment of every new demand of public reform and popular rights, we believe the people will look, not to the long rejected party which has stolidly resisted every step of progress and act of patriotism in our later history, but to that long trusted party whose enduring principles and unexampled career are honorably identified with all these advances and triumphs, and which meets all new questions as they arise with the same patriotic and faithful spirit.

"Resolved, That the Tammany Ring, with its colossal plunder of the people, the pollution of the ballot-box, the defilement of the bench, the mismanagement of the public works, the increase of taxation, and the addition of a deficiency of \$6,600,000 to the public debt, were the direct fruits of Democratic rule in this State; that with the aid of honest men of all parties, whose coöperation is still invited, the Republican organization has overthrown the Tammany iniquity, purified the elections, elevated the judiciary, redeemed the State administration, and made provision for all public obligations, and that the completion of reform, as well as the general welfare of the State, require the continuance of its work.

"Resolved, That having enacted a statute permitting suits for the recovery of civil damages in cases of injury sustained from the sale of intoxicating beverages, and being committed to the principle of allowing each locality to determine for itself whether it will prohibit such sale, the Republican party has shown itself the true friend of temperance.

"Resolved, That it is essential to the prosperity of the State of New York, and especially of her commercial metropolis, that all lines of communication with the producing States of the West and the South, whether by land or water, should be available for the purpose of uninterrupted and adequate transportation at minimum rates; that the subject should be considered in a broad and statesmanlike spirit commensurate with its great importance, and that we hold it to be the paramount duty of the incoming Legislature to devise means whereby the cereals of the country may find their way with sure despatch to the seaboard and thence to the markets of the world; that especially considering the necessity of wise action to prevent the diversion of trade, the main canals of this State should be adapted to steam navigation,

and by refunding of the debts in long bonds at a low rate of interest, should be made as free to the commerce of the nation as their economical maintenance without taxing the people will permit. We hold, also, that Congress should put forth all the power it may wisely exert within the limits of the Constitution, and recommend to the consideration of Congress the natural advantages and the just claims of the great channels which run through the State.

"Resolved, That public approbation belongs to the Senators and Representatives who in the last Congress opposed the appropriation of money as increased compensation for Congressional services already rendered and paid for, and that public censure belongs to those of whatever politics whose votes enacted such a provision. We do not charge this wrong upon either party, although it was supported by a larger relative proportion of the opponents than of the friends of the Administration, and although among those who promoted it and those who were conveniently absent when the votes were recorded were several members of the small faction who had recently deserted their party under the pretence of unfounded charges of Republican extravagance. We commend, also, the Senators and Representative who have refrained from appropriating back pay, and we hold that the only effectual mode of restoring to the United States the moneys which such members of Congress have declined to receive is by law to cover the same into the Treasury. We, therefore, request the Republican Senators from this State to introduce and urge at the next session a bill which shall refund to the Treasury all such moneys not claimed, including as the same in law all sums which have been merely left untouched, and all sums which have been in one form or another publicly or privately renounced.

"Resolved, That we point with pride to Republican administrations, both of the nation and of the State; that the former still exhibits the honest purpose, the successful policy, and the auspicious results which, together with his own practical wisdom, and patriotic services, led to the triumphant reelection of President Grant; that the latter, by its watchful care of every public interest, equally justifies the expectations of the people; and that with the ticket nominated to-day we confidently pledge the maintenance of a faithful and efficient government."

THE STATE COMMITTEE.

The following State committee was

then appointed, the delegates from each Congressional district having their respective members:

"Stephen French, Benjamin W. Wilson, George Bliss, J. M. Patterson, jr., David B. Mellish, William A. Darling, A. A. Brush, John Lyon, Gilbert Robertson, jr., Samuel D. Russell, David Williams, Henry Clews, Hugh Gardner, William Haw. jr., William H. Robertson, Ezra Farrington, John F. Smythe, Stephen Moffatt, Seth P. Remington, Ebenezer Blakely, Charles F. Simonds, Carrol E. Smith, Thomas Hillhouse, Hiram Pritchard, William Tyrrell, Seymour Sexton, Pardon C. Williams, Thomas S. Mott, John F. Knapp, A. B. Cornell, Henry A. Gliddon, James D. Warren, and Henry O. Lakin."

Enthusiastic cheers were given by the delegates, after which the convention adjourned.

With a strong ticket, an excellent platform, and commendable harmony in the ranks, we see no reason to doubt the ability of the Republicans of New York to win a complete victory on the 4th of November. We call upon them to organize in every township, and labor with the same zeal displayed in the Presidential canvass. An honest election and a full vote ought to secure us the State without, a doubt. They will if our friends resolve to have the one and bring out the other.

A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.—There is a slight difference of opinion between Democrats, North and South. The hard-shells of the South insist on keeping Democracy on the old Calhoun platform, while their brethren of the North as strongly insist on tearing up the old planks and replacing them with timber stolen from the Republican reservations. To gain a new lease of power Northern Democrats are willing to make any sacrifice. To support the family pride, and keep up the pet theory of "a white man's government" Southern Democrats refuse to yield their old pro-slavery principles. The Southern sentiment is honestly stated in the following extract from the *Memphis Avalanche*, (Dem.):

"In fact, the old Democratic party managers have been forced by the inex-

orable logic of events to surrender everything but the name. To this they still cling in most of the States. Their platform is labeled 'Democratic,' though in all, or nearly all essentials it is little else than a paraphrase of the Republican party platform of the past few years. As a measure of policy no objection can be made; but to deliberately smash one partisan creed, flch a new one from one's enemy, and then insist that, because bearing the old name it is still the same old creed, is, to speak mildly, arant hypocrisy. The doctrine held by A. H. Stephens, by Robert Toombs, by Jefferson Davis, enunciated in the Democratic platforms of 1864 and 1868, by Blanton Duncan's Bourbon Convention which nominated Charles O'Connor for President last year, is the 'ancient Democratic faith.' It is the simon pure article. All other brands are spurious; yet not a 'Democratic' State Convention, North or South, now ventures to incorporate it in a platform. If the old partisan creed—as is the fact—has been utterly abandoned; if to maintain a struggle for mere existence it has become necessary—as is the fact—to adopt, to so great an extent, the Republican party platform, why cling to the old Democratic name, especially since that name has become so unpopular as to bring defeat to any organization that bears it? This is answered by a few heroies over the past career of the old party. But of what avail? They cannot change minorities to majorities. Public confidence in a political party once lost can never be restored."

The *Pittsburg Post*, (Dem.) published in a cooler latitude, differs slightly in opinion from the above extract. It says:

"The Democratic party has been out of power for twelve years. During all that period it has been gaining strength, and but for the negro vote it would at this moment hold possession of our State and General Government. Compare its history in this respect with that of its opponents, and how great the contrast, and what proof it affords of the honest tenacity of the solid voting portion of the party, the rank and file. The Democratic party is replete with vitality in every bone and sinew and nerve. It never can die while there remains in existence even a portion of the Constitution for which it can contend. When that glorious old political party dies it will be proof that the Constitution has been utterly destroyed, and that the last hope for man's self-government has perished from the earth."

NORTHERN PACIFIC ROAD.—Holders of bonds of the Northern Pacific railway are naturally anxious over the probable effect of the suspension of Jay Cooke & Co. on the value of the bonds. For the benefit of these bondholders, and all others interested in the completion of this great railway enterprise, we append the statement of Samuel Wilkeson, secretary of the Northern Pacific railroad:

The secretary, speaking of the suspension of Jay Cooke & Co., its financial agent, said he had no doubt of the future of the road. It would be constructed. There were those supporting it who would not allow it to be abandoned. The board of directors alone represented millions. The company had not a dollar of unpaid paper up to the present time. Not a note of theirs was ever seen in Wall street, and not a bond was hypothecated by the company, consequently the company had no liabilities hanging over it that might descend without warning. The interest of the company's bonds was not due until the 1st of January next, and it would then undoubtedly be met. That portion of the road already built was earning more than was anticipated from it. That portion of it running to the Red River country had already developed a fine carrying trade. He believed the road would be hindered more by hostile Sioux than by financial revolution. Neither force, however, could prevent the successful completion of the road. Two of the members of the firm of Jay Cooke & Co. were directors of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. The result will be that the work of construction will be somewhat retarded. It is more than probable Congress will be asked to grant an extension of two years to the company, beyond that already granted, to enable it to complete the road. No such enterprise was ever before attempted by private capitalists—that of constructing a railroad 2,200 miles in length, across an unsettled continent. Congress should have come to their aid by extending credit to the undertaking. It would have done so but for the demagogical cry that corporations were grasping the

entire domain and overriding the rights of the people.

The rolling stock is as follows: Locomotive engines, 72; passenger cars, 16; baggage and mail cars, 6; immigrant and dumps, 25; platform freight cars, 1,113; box freight cars, 395. Total cars, 1,516.

The road being in process of construction, no account of its earnings can be given.

The expenditures have been as follows: Surveyors, \$109,154; construction, \$12,200,600; rolling stock, \$908,838; tools, machinery, and stock supplies, \$358,881; harbor improvements at Duluth, \$245,506. Total, \$15,804,874.

[We agree with Mr. Wilkeson as to the magnitude and importance of the enterprise and indulge the hope that the work will be but temporarily checked by the financial crisis which has carried down its principal promoters; but we do not indorse the proposition that the Government should have granted aid beyond the magnificent donation of lands which it has already bestowed.]

FACE THE FUTURE.—To sit idle in-ness and brood over the misfortunes of the past is both foolish and unwise. The past is beyond recall. As well might you try to restore the dried up mummy to life and beauty as to live over the past, and correct the mistakes committed. It is gone, buried beyond resurrection, and is as worthless as a dream, except as an example for the present and future. To back into the future with your face towards the past, is to stumble through life, and repeat the errors that experience should have taught you to avoid. Let the past go, for to waste time idly, wishing its return, is to blind yourself to the realities of the present, and fits you for nothing but a helpless wanderer in the future. Look ahead! If you have seen trouble, turn your back upon it, and press forward, determined to deserve success. Some people never recover from a misfortune. Once down, they remain down forever. They make no effort to get up. They prefer to keep down, and appear to enjoy a secret satisfaction in telling others what they

have been, and what they might have been had good fortune continued to smile upon them. Others shake off trouble as a duck would the water. It makes no other impression upon them than to make them a trifle wiser. You can't keep them down. Knock them off their feet, and they are up in a twinkling, and go ahead as bravely as if nothing had stopped them. All they ask is health and strength. Their courage is equal to every emergency. Like the blooded racer, though distanced at the start, they never give up the race until the home stand is reached. In a word, they do their best under all circumstances, and in doing this, generally do well enough. It is bad enough for an old man, who has put forth his strength and failed, to become discouraged, and drift into the rushing current of fate with no effort to stem it, but for a young man, or one in his prime, who has brain and muscle in perfect order, to give up, and drift with a tide that he could easily overcome is without the shadow of an excuse. What if you have lost money or failed in business? Can these trifling troubles excuse idleness when extra exertion is required? Yesterday has fled from your reach; to-day is yours; to-morrow may be full of sunshine to your darkened hopes. Let the past go; rear a tombstone over it if you please, but cease to dwell over its grave. The world is before you; ripened fields await your labor; you may retrieve all, and win even more than you had. The little vexations of life are but the axe-strokes that chip and deface the young oak, but fail to retard its growth. Nature heals the wound, and the young tree grows to its full proportion. So the vital element of man's life, if hope remains uncrushed, will heal the wounds of the past, and out of the failure of yesterday weave the glorious triumph of to-day or to-morrow.

PERIODICITY IN RATES OF INTEREST.

—At the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Portland, Maine, in

August last, Mr. E. B. Elliott, of this city, read an interesting paper on the above-named subject, being the result of an investigation undertaken at the instance of the Secretary of the Treasury. In this paper it was shown that during the period of five and a half years over which his observations extended the rates of interest were in general higher during the six months from November to April, both inclusive, than during the remaining period of six months from May to October, in each year, the general average on demand notes for the former period being 5.70 per cent., and for the latter period 5.31 per cent. On sixty days' paper the rate of interest averaged for the former period 8.23 per cent., and for the latter 7.47.

Table showing the average rates per cent. of interest obtaining in the New York market by half years, divided as above described, from June, 1867, to October, 1872, both inclusive, on demand notes and on paper having sixty days to run.

PERIODS.	DEMAND NOTES.		SIXTY DAYS' PAPER.	
	May to October.	November to April.	May to October.	November to April.
June to October, 1867.....	5.75	5.50	6.65	7.00
November to April, 1867-68.....	4.85	6.75	6.33	9.20
May to October, 1868.....	6.25	5.00	8.20	9.65
November to April, 1868-69.....	6.25	5.00	8.33	7.09
May to October, 1869.....	6.25	5.00	8.33	8.20
November to April, 1869-70.....	6.25	5.00	8.33	8.20
May to October, 1870.....	4.75	6.00	7.00	8.20
November to April, 1870-71.....	4.75	6.00	7.00	8.20
May to October, 1871.....	5.00	6.00	8.33	8.20
November to April, 1871-72.....	5.00	6.00	8.33	8.20
May to October, 1872.....	5.31	5.70	7.47	8.23
General averages.....	5.31	5.70	7.47	8.23

Upon inspection of this table it will be perceived that while there was not entire uniformity as regards the specified periods in different years, yet in general the rates, both as regards demand notes and sixty-day paper, are higher during the colder of the two semi-annual periods than during the warmer. The causes of the varying rates are of two kinds, one local, confined to our own country; the other influenced by the market rates for money prevailing abroad. In the fall of the year money is in large demand for the moving of crops, and the demand appears to continue in the main during the earlier portion of the incoming year. The minimum is in general reached in midsummer.

Diagrams were also exhibited, showing by rising and falling lines the varying rates by averages for each three months during the entire period, by this means presenting to the eye at once the entire movement. Thus on demand notes the average rate for the three months of 1867, from August to October inclusive, was five and two-thirds per cent. During the next three months (November, 1867, to January, 1868,) the average rate was five-sixths of one per cent. higher, or six and a half per cent. For the next six months (February to July inclusive, 1868,) the average rate was two per cent. lower, or four and a half per cent. The average for the next three months (August to October inclusive, 1868,) shows an advance of two-thirds of one per cent., and that for the three months next succeeding (November, 1868, to January, 1869,) a further advance of one and a half per cent., followed by a slight depression in the three months from February to April, 1869.

The general movement during the next quarter was downward. There were some irregularities in the succeeding years, but in general the highest rates were found in the six months from November to April. The general effect to the eye was the culmination of these rates at the coldest season of the year, and their depression at the warmest. Mr. Elliott remarked that the winter

season, both in this country and abroad, was the period of the settlement of accounts, when the necessities of the money market brought the rates to their maximum; while everywhere in the heat of midsummer but little business is transacted, and the need of money consequently reaches a minimum.

THE TRUE DISTINCTION.—Who would think of condemning a worthy merchant because he discovered in his employ a dishonest clerk? Sympathy, rather than blame, would be extended to him, and every fair-minded man would approve the prompt dismissal, and, if the law was violated, the speedy punishment of the offender. Why, then, should our opponents denounce the Republican party because it discovers among its thousands of officials a few exceptional cases of dishonesty? The party repudiates the acts of dishonesty, and the people put their stamp of condemnation, not only upon the offence, but upon the offender. No act of dishonesty, or official guilty of crime; no questionable or iniquitous measures have ever been condoned or protected by the Republican party. As soon as known, an earnest protest has gone up against them, and those involved have been called to a strict account. This is all that can be done. Individuals are liable to be deceived. A party can rise no higher nor better divine the future than the individuals who compose it. As long as the party seeks to detect and punish the rascals who deceive it, and use due caution in the selection of its public servants, we shall have an abiding faith in it. We call upon Republicans everywhere to select for office the very best men in the ranks of the party, and to weed out every official that shows himself unworthy of public confidence.

SINCE June 30, 1873, the whole extent of additional railroad service has been two thousand four hundred and sixteen miles. Of this extent the Western States have had the larger proportion, the New England and Middle States having had very little.

MISCELLANEOUS.

WHY WE HONOR THE PARTY.—We are suspicious of the man who is continually boasting of his noble ancestry. To know a man, we must know what he is, not what his father was. Noble descent is well enough in its place, but when a man has nothing better to boast of than his pedigree, he has reached the bottom, and is little better than the snail that looks up with envy at the strong-winged eagle in its lofty flight. It is nobler to ascend than descend; to improve on the family stock rather than deteriorate. To fall back upon the reputation of our great-great-grandfather to sustain our own, is little better than robbing a grave to secure the jewels buried in it. So with parties; we honor them for what they are, not what they were in days gone by. We see nothing in Democracy but the shadow of a great name. When we ask what it has to commend it to our confidence, its Tweeds and Garveys and Warmoths, with their party plunder concealed from view, point us to its honorable past, before slavery corrupted its honor, or treason destroyed its political virtue. Not so with the Republican party! We glory in its past achievements, because out of them have grown its present strength and nobility. What it was yesterday it is to-day, a living, moving power, exerting an influence for good; defending the nation from its enemies at home and abroad; protecting the liberties of the people; establishing schools for popular education; reaching out its arm to restrain monopolies from encroaching upon the rights of the people; holding the scales of justice between capital and labor; organizing means to relieve the producers of the West and the consumers of the East, and exacting from its servants an honest and economical administration of the Government. For these good and sufficient reasons we honor the Republican party. We take just pride in its past achievements, because they have given birth to our present aspirations. We have taken no step backward.

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Some of our standard-bearers have proven false, but the rank and file were true, and loyal hands caught up the old flag and kept it afloat in the vanguard of civilization. The noblest army will have its deserters, the noblest party will have its faithless servants, but neither army nor party can suffer as long as the great body remains true to the cause. The Republican party represents the progressive ideas of the people, not the ambitious designs of its leaders. The defection of a leader, the dishonesty of an official, the failure of a representative to reflect the wishes of his constituents, have no other effect than to arouse the people to greater caution in the selection of their public servants. The great political body is sound; its faults are few, and, when discovered, easily remedied. As the present condition of the party is as worthy of commendation as its past, so the future will add to, rather than detract from, its glory. We have much to do, the work so well accomplished having brought other and larger duties for the party to perform: To disarm ignorance, suppress vice, protect labor, encourage immigration, develop our wonderful resources, protect the public credit, adapt the national currency to the wants of the public, and to maintain justice and secure honesty in every section of the land and every branch of the Government, are duties as imposing as any that have been laid upon the party in the past.

OFFICIAL POLITENESS.—Politeness adorns the character of any man. It costs nothing to practice it, and yet, free as it is, many persons refuse to possess it. It should be the pleasure of every one to treat with common courtesy those who have personal or business relations with them. It should be exacted from our public officials as one of the duties of official life. A rude official should be driven from office. Insulting language to a well-behaved stranger who has business with a public official, should be good

grounds for declaring the office vacant. It is a decided pleasure to do business with a polite official. Successful or otherwise in what you desired, you leave the office with a good opinion of the man. But to enter the presence of some public officers is like entering the den of some wild animal; you are on the guard continually, and fear that the harsh words and gathering frowns may be followed by an official order to tear you to pieces. You get out as soon as possible, and nothing but necessity can induce you to return. If you have collected an honest claim, you have been made to feel that you have plundered the Treasury; if you have protested against some official act, or submitted objections to certain decisions, you are in doubt whether you have performed the duty of an American citizen or encroached upon the rights of some august monarch.

Public officials should understand that they are the servants of the people. Every tax-payer helps pay their salaries, and they have the right to demand polite treatment at all times. Too many officers forget the appointing power. They act as if they were in for life, and owned everything under them, and had the right to crack the whip over their subordinates and over the heads of all who came in contact with them. This practice should be stopped; the people should demand courtesy from their servants, and if they fail to receive it, should drive the offenders from office and put men in who can practice the common civilities of life.

FREE EXCHANGES.—The Carmel (N. Y.) *Monitor*, in speaking of the change in the law compelling newspapers to pay postage on their exchanges, makes the following sensible remarks, which we fully indorse. The local press ought to pledge themselves to oppose the renomination of any man who refuses to restore the free circulation of county papers and free exchanges. It is not enough that the local newspaper be praised at Fourth of July orations as the invaluable aid to the political education of the people, for that great interest is entitled

to more substantial recognition. The *Monitor* says:

"There are sufficient and substantial reasons for the reenactment of the repealed free exchange and free home circulation laws. This repeal is a positive advance in a tendency—already obvious, and, for various reasons, bad—towards an extinction of local newspapers to make room for large, monopolizing city newspapers. Accordingly, anybody who has observed the opinions of the press on the repeal will recollect that, the larger and more powerful, the more decidedly did it approve the repeal. It has long been an established policy of the great city paper to set forth the duty of the local papers to scrape together their local news, and leave great affairs to great men. It is natural that a city newspaper manager should covet a large circulation and great influence. It is his very obvious policy to make the country papers mere local reporters for him. The only thing he would like better would be to discontinue them entirely, add their circulation to his, and substitute a local correspondent or occasional reporter for the local editor. A curious phenomenon, of late frequently observed in divers quarters, is another instance of this same policy; newspaper after newspaper, 'local' or 'provincial,' will be found having in its telegraphic column an item like the following: 'The New York *Blowgun* of to-morrow will say so and so;' and then follows a paragraph not of news, but of *editorial*. This, of course, has a direct tendency to discredit the local paper, for the reader says: 'Ah! then the important thing is not what my editor says, but what the New York *Blowgun* man says. I guess I'll stop my paper and take the *Blowgun*.' There never was a more ingenious device to induce men to cut their own throats for the good of somebody else."

GRANT AND THE MONEY KINGS.—The conference of President Grant at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, with the leading bankers and brokers of that city reminds us of his famous council of war after the battle of the Wilderness. The battle had been a fierce one. Although it resulted in his holding the field, the victory had been dearly bought. The prospects for a forward movement looked gloomy. A tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon Grant to retire across the Rapidan and await reinforce-

ments. He called a council of war, listened to the opinions of his generals; said little himself; gave to each sealed instructions, to be opened at a certain hour on the following morning, and bade them good-night. The general impression was that the instructions received were for a withdrawal of our forces, but to the surprise of nearly all, they were found, when opened, to be orders to advance. The result of the campaign which followed is well known to all. Lee was forced from every position, and, at last, locked up in the defences of Richmond, he was held with an iron hand until he was forced to surrender. So at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. The President listened to the advice of money kings of Wall street, resisted a pressure such as few officials have been called upon to stand, weighed the arguments advanced for a sudden inflation of the currency by the release of the reserve legal tenders in the vaults of the Treasury, then made up his mind not to do what the stock gamblers and anxious brokers wanted him to do. The result shows the wisdom of his course. The panic had reached its height, speculation had reacted upon itself, and the release of currency by the purchase of bonds was all that was needed to restore confidence and protect the mercantile interests from the sudden pressure. As a general, Grant takes rank with the most renowned soldiers of history. This latest exhibition of his sagacity and wisdom, in the presence of an impending financial crash, will go far towards placing his name among the leading statesmen of the past and present.

AN IMPORTANT LAW.—The following law went into effect October 1, 1873. If properly executed, it will do much towards preserving the public health. We trust that the people will form organizations everywhere throughout the country to see that the law is rigidly enforced:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That no railroad company within the United States whose road forms any part of a

line of road over which cattle, sheep, swine, or other animals shall be conveyed from one State to another, or the owners or masters of steam, sailing, or other vessels carrying or transporting cattle, sheep, swine, or other animals from one State to another, shall confine the same in cars, boats, or vessels of any description, for a longer period than twenty-eight consecutive hours, without unloading the same for rest, water, and feeding for a period of at least five consecutive hours, unless prevented from so unloading by storm or other incidental causes. In estimating such confinement the time during which the animals have been confined without such rest on connecting roads from which they are received shall be included, it being the intent of this act to prohibit their continuous confinement beyond the period of twenty-eight hours, except upon contingencies hereinbefore stated. Animals so unloaded shall be properly fed and watered during such rest by the owner or person having the custody thereof, or in case of his default in doing so then by the railroad company or owners or masters of boats or vessels transporting the same at the expense of said company, owners or masters shall in such cases have a lien upon such animals for food, care, and custody furnished, and shall not be liable for any detention of such animals authorized by this act. Any company, owner, or custodian of such animals who shall knowingly and wilfully fail to comply with the provisions of this act shall, for each and every such failure to comply with the provisions of this act, be liable for and forfeit and pay a penalty of not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars: *Provided, however,* That when animals shall be carried in cars, boats, or other vessels in which they can and do have proper food, water, space and opportunity for rest, the foregoing provisions in regard to their being unloaded shall not apply.

SEC. 2. That the penalty created by the first section of this act shall be recovered by civil action in the name of the United States, in the Circuit or District Court of the United States, holden within the district where the violation of this act may have been committed, or the person or corporation resides or carries on its business; and it shall be the duty of all United States marshals, their deputies and subordinates, to prosecute all violations of this act which shall come to their notice or knowledge.

SEC. 3. That any person or corporation entitled to lien under the first section of this act may enforce the same by

a petition filed in the District Court of the United States, holden within the district where the food, care, and custody shall have been furnished, or the owner or custodian of the property resides; and said court shall have power to issue all suitable process for the enforcement of such lien by sale or otherwise, and to compel the payment of all costs, penalties, charges and expenses of proceedings under this act.

JEFF. DAVIS.—It was a great pity that our Government caught Jefferson Davis in his flight to the seaboard. We should have helped him out of the country, and supplied him with all the boats he needed to carry himself and his plunder anywhere, so long as it was away from our shores. He might have still been wandering in some foreign land, disguised as an old woman, and might have taken from the South, by the force of attraction, some of the kindred spirits of both sexes that hover around him to-day like foolish guats around an expiring candle. By his capture the world lost a reconstructed granny and we gained an elephant. If some of our boys, when they got their hands on the old traitor, had practically illustrated that song—

"We'll hang Jeff. Davis on a sour apple tree!" the sudden taking off would have had a good effect on the public peace. But the hand of retributive justice was stayed. By the action of Greeley and other sentimental grannies, he became a martyr; was boarded at the public expense for about two years, and but for his hatred of Yankee greenbacks, we doubt not he would have entered suit against Uncle Sam long since to obtain heavy damages for defamation of character and false imprisonment. By the capture of Surratt we robbed the Papal government of a poor soldier, and restored a fugitive from justice to the status of a citizen. By catching Davis, we prevented an old woman from travelling under an assumed name, and inflicted upon the South a greater injury than the war itself. Davis appears to us like the ghost of the defunct Confederacy. Just when the people forget his evil work, he walks

into their midst and frightens everybody from the labor of rebuilding what he tore down. The men of the South know him pretty well; they remember his ignominious flight from Richmond when Lee was fighting like a lion to protect it; his haughty, overbearing nature, when in authority, and his craven spirit when a captive; and they are about disgusted with him and his antecedents. But the women like him, for some reason or other—probably because he tried to pass for one when he fled; and knowing this, the arch traitor goes about with his blarney, inducing the women to train their children to hate the Federal Government, and when they grow to manhood to fight against it if the opportunity offers. We hear of him in Southern schools, at fairs, before legislatures—anywhere and everywhere he can get a word in for the lost cause. His last appearance was before a gathering of ex rebel officers, styling themselves "The Southern Historical Society," at Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, Virginia. This last speech is little better than treason itself, and if his words have any effect, they have done incalculable mischief to the prosperity of the South. It is about time for Davis to subside. The South has paid dearly enough for his advice, and the sooner they give him a free pass to Spain or France, or some other place where busybodies and agitators are wanted, the better it will be for the peace and prosperity of the whole country.

OUR BEST MEN FOR OFFICE.—To destroy the Republican party because a few dishonest men have crept into office through its power, would be as wise as the killing of a healthy individual because a few boils trouble him. The party never was more healthy than at present. The few officials that are proven dishonest are, to the great body politic, what the spots on the sun are to the blazing orb that gives us light and warmth. As long as the masses of the people who compose the party are honestly inclined, we have no fear of the

Statement of 30-year Six Per Cent. Bonds (interest payable in January and July) Issued to the Pacific Railroad Companies, under Acts of July 1, 1862, and July 2, 1864.

Date.	Amount of Bonds Outstanding.	Total Interest Paid by the United States.	Depayment of Interest by Transportation of Mails, Troops, &c.	Balance due to the United States on Interest Account after Deducting Depayments.	Balance of Accrued Interest Due to the United States on Interest Account.	Total Amount of Interest due to the United States from Pacific Railway Companies.
July 1, 1865	\$1,258,000	\$37,740 00	.....	.....	.....	\$37,740 00
July 1, 1866	6,042,000	235,327 04	.....	.....	.....	235,327 04
July 1, 1867	14,762,000	903,837 22	.....	.....	.....	858,543 75
July 1, 1868	29,089,000	2,138,190 30	.....	.....	.....	1,314,020 49
July 1, 1869	58,638,320	4,984,822 14	.....	.....	.....	3,455,682 88
July 1, 1870	64,457,320	8,815,345 49	.....	.....	.....	6,069,557 33
July 1, 1871	64,618,832	12,692,475 41	.....	.....	.....	9,718,614 38
July 1, 1872	64,623,512	16,570,575 54	.....	.....	.....	12,861,640 76
			3,708,934 78	12,861,640 76	1,585,613 50	14,447,254 26

party itself. Every Republican convention which has met thus far has placed itself on record as being determined to drive men from office who fail to practice economy and honesty in their public duties. We shall never free ourselves entirely from the influence of bad men. They will creep into power in spite of the greatest care and watchfulness. We can, however, throw an increased protection around the public service by a more thorough examination of the character of the men who present themselves for our support. A good citizen will generally make a good official. This is a simple rule which, if practiced in the selection of candidates, will greatly protect the public interests. Inquire into the private character of the man who wants your vote, and if you find him honest, industrious, charitable, a good neighbor, and a public-spirited citizen, you can safely give him your vote and support. You may run the risk, even then, of being cheated; but the chances will be so small that you can well afford the risk. But to expect to secure an honest official in the man who never pays his debts, who takes advantage of his neighbor, whose character is stained by intemperance or profanity, is to expect a clear balance-sheet in the other world without paying your printer's bill in this. Nominate your best men for office and the risk of finding dishonesty in high places will be exceedingly small.

TIMELY ACTION.—The action of President Grant and Secretary Richardson in refusing to loan the stock gamblers of Wall street public funds to keep them from the ruin they invited, meets with commendation everywhere. The willingness of the Government to purchase twelve million dollars' worth of United States bonds was a legitimate transaction, as profitable to the Government as it was welcome to the business centres. It has had the effect of releasing sufficient currency to help business men through the emergency, and effectually stopping a general panic.

Presidential Electoral Vote from 1824 to 1872.

Year.	Name.	Vote.	Name.	Vote.	Name.	Vote.
1824.	Andrew Jackson.....	99	John Q. Adams.....	84	Wm. H. Crawford.....	41
1828.	Andrew Jackson.....	178	John Q. Adams.....	83	John Floyd.....	11
1832.	Andrew Jackson.....	219	Henry Clay.....	49	Hugh L. White.....	26
1836.	Martin Van Buren.....	170	William H. Harrison...	73	.....	.....
1840.	William H. Harrison...	234	Martin Van Buren.....	60	.....	.....
1844.	James K. Polk.....	170	Henry Clay.....	105	W. P. Mangum.....	11
1848.	Zachary Taylor.....	163	Lewis Cass.....	127	.....	.....
1852.	Franklin Pierce.....	254	Winfield Scott.....	42	.....	.....
1856.	James Buchanan.....	174	John C. Fremont.....	114	Millard Fillmore.....	8
1860.	Abraham Lincoln.....	180	J. C. Breckinridge.....	72	John Bell.....	39
1864.	Abraham Lincoln.....	213	George B. McClellan...	21	Stephen A. Douglas.....	12
1868.	Ulysses S. Grant.....	214	Horatio Seymour.....	80	.....	.....
1872.	Ulysses S. Grant.....	300	Thos. A. Hendricks....	42	B. Gratz Brown.....	18
					Scattering.....	6

HIGH PRICES.—The most remarkable sale of cattle ever known in this country, if not in the world, took place near Utica, N. Y., during the month of September. The stock sold belonged to S. Campbell, of New York Mills, and is said to have been the purest and finest breed of short-horns in the world. As an item worthy of record we give a list of the prices paid. The fact that among the herd were some cows and bulls of the celebrated Duke and Duchess family drew to the sale over one thousand stock dealers, and among them, ready to pay any price, were some of the English nobility. The bids were large from the start, and spirited throughout the sale. The Duchesses sold brought the following prices:

1. Duchess of Oneida.....	\$30,600
7. Duchess of Oneida.....	19,000
11. Duchess of Geneva.....	35,000
8. Duchess of Oneida.....	15,300
13. Duchess of Thorndale.....	15,000
4. Duchess of Oneida.....	25,000
8. Duchess of Geneva.....	40,600
10. Duchess of Oneida.....	27,000
9. Duchess of Oneida.....	10,000
12. Duchess of Thorndale.....	5,700
3. Duchess of Oneida.....	15,600

The following is a summary of the sales:

108 head, (average of \$3,523).....	\$380,490
91 cows and heifers, (average of \$3,838).....	349,275
17 bulls, (average of \$1,836).....	31,215
11 Duchesses, (average \$21,709)...	238,800
7 Oxfords, (average \$4,514).....	31,600

Some of the animals purchased have already been sent abroad.

THE Democratic party is willing to make any sacrifice to obtain power. It is ready to promise anything if the dear people will only trust it with the Administration of the Government. It constructs its platforms to provide for every conceivable want. If a locality favors free trade, Democracy erects a free trade platform and invites attention to its strength and importance; if protection is the winning policy, the protective plank is given prominence and free trade denounced as a political heresy. Where the colored element is strong, it endorses negro suffrage, where it is weak, it de-

nounces it as a dangerous power, and pledges itself if once in authority to favor its abridgement.

In fact, the Democratic party is all things to all men, shifting its policy to suit locality, and drifting along on the wave of public opinion, in hopes that some lucky current will bear it toward power and position. Like a ship at sea, without rudder or compass, with a chart borrowed from some early navigator, the old worm-eaten hulk of Democracy still insists on holding out inducements for passengers and freight. Every time it sails we bid it farewell, but after every campaign it drifts back into port and goes into dock for extensive repairs. Since last November it has been caulked and painted, and under a new name it might deceive some fellow who has never been at sea. But the posted traveller knows the old vessel by its shape, knows it is rotten from stem to stern, and can't be deceived into accepting passage on any terms. It hardly pays to keep the old hulk in repair; paint and putty may cover her defects for a time, but the old rottenness will show despite the most careful efforts to conceal it. The best way to treat the old craft is to give her in charge of Davis and Semmes, crowd her decks with the patrons of the Southern Historical Society, nail the Confederate flag to her mast head, and send her to sea, with strict instructions to cruise until sent for. This will put it out of her power to deceive the public; and at the same time rid the country of a crowd of rebel politicians who can be well spared.

WHAT THE WEST NEEDS.—While the farmers of the West are trying to solve the cheap transportation question, they should not overlook a subject as vital to their interests as cheap freights. We refer to the subject of home manufactures. If it is wise to secure a reduction of transportation rates to the East, so that the products of the farm can be sent to the consumers at a less price than at present, it would appear still wiser to bring the consumer in closer contact

with the producer, and thus do away with the present necessity of expensive transportation. The West needs manufactories, that will draw around them the skilled labor of the East. Car factories, woolen factories, cheese factories, manufactories for the making of furniture, agricultural implements, and the countless articles needed in the house and on the farms, are among the industrial interests which should be encouraged in every Western State. The benefit to the farmer would be twofold: he would pay less for what he wanted and would get more for the products sold. A market would be at his door, and the surplus that now rots on the farm, because of his inability to pay its way to market, would find ready purchasers at good prices. Some of the more enterprising cities and towns of the West have encouraged the growth of manufacturing interests, and the result has been a rapid and substantial increase of wealth and general prosperity. The closer the producer is brought to the consumer the better it is for both. This is so simple and self evident a statement that none can deny it. The West needs additional outlets to the East and to the seaboard, but we look to the development of its manufacturing interests as the one thing needed to build up its prosperity.

SCIENCE.—RELATION OF CHANGES IN THE LENGTH OF THE EARTH'S RADIUS VECTOR TO FREQUENCY OF AURORAS.

The following is an abstract of one of the papers read by Professor E. B. Elliott, of the Treasury Department, at the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in August, 1873, at Portland, Maine:

That auroras are of electric origin is admitted by all who are conversant with the subject. The exhibition of extensive and brilliant auroras is invariably attended with all the other well-known evidences of magnetic storms—such as the corresponding rush to and fro of electric currents in telegraphic conductors to such an extent as to seriously disturb and interrupt the ordinary transaction of business upon the lines; and the irregular and extraordinary deflections of the magnetic needle.

Whenever the magnetic condition of the earth is disturbed, corresponding disturbance of the magnetic needle, disturbances of electric condition of telegraphic conductors, and manifestation of auroras invariably result.

The question had suggested itself whether, among the many causes which may produce disturbance in the electric or magnetic condition of the earth and its invariably attendant magnetic and auroral storms, might not be ranked the annual or periodical lengthening and shortening of the earth's radius vector.

If the year be divided into twelve equal parts, it will be found that the length of the radius vector, (or the distance of the earth from the sun,) augments most rapidly during that portion of time which corresponds to the month of March, and diminishes most rapidly during that portion which corresponds to the month of October; the date, however, of the most rapid diminution being during the latter part of September—i. e., September 25.

The following table gives the increment and decrement of the logarithms of the length of the radius vector for the monthly periods above referred to.

TABLE SHOWING THE CHANGES IN THE LENGTH OF THE EARTH'S RADIUS VECTOR.

Increments and decrements of logarithms of the length of the earth's radius vector, by months, or periods of thirty and a half days each, as deduced from the American Nautical Almanac for the year 1868:

Months or Periods.	Logarithms.
January (Jan. 1.0 to Feb. 0.5).....	†.00100
February (Feb. 0.5 to March 1.0) †.00276	
March (March 2.0 to April 1.5) ...	†.00369
April (April 1.5 to May 2.0).....	†.00360
May (May 2.0 to June 1.5).....	†.00258
June (June 1.5 to July 2.0).....	†.00092
July (July 2.0 to Aug. 1.5).....	— .00096
August (Aug. 1.5 to Sept. 1.0).....	— .00261
September (Sept. 1.0 to Oct. 1.5).....	— .00361
October (Oct. 1.5 to Nov. 1.0).....	— .00368
November (Nov. 1.0 to Dec. 1.5).....	— .00273
December (Dec. 1.5 to Jan. 1.0).....	— .00098

In a general catalogue of auroras classified by years and months, compiled by Professor Joseph Lovering, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, may be found the following table, showing the distribution by calendar months of 12,263 auroras observed:

January.....	1,134
February.....	1,169
March.....	1,436

† Denotes increments.
— Denotes decrements.

April.....	1,170
May.....	713
June.....	455
July.....	544
August.....	838
September.....	1,219
October.....	1,341
November.....	1,154
December.....	1,090

Total number of auroras observed...12,263

From this table it will be seen that the months of maximum frequency of auroras are the calendar months of March and October.

The greater frequency of auroras observed during the months of northern winter, when the earth is near its perihelion, as compared with the number at midsummer, when the earth is near its aphelion, is doubtless attributable, in large part at least, to the superior opportunities for observation afforded to northern observers by the greater length of the winter nights as compared with those of summer, the observations having been exclusively made in the northern hemisphere.

The marked coincidence between the frequency of auroras and the rates of approach and recession of the earth to and from the sun was deemed worthy of note, not alone for its independent interest, but also on account of its possible bearing on the discussions now in progress relative to the coma of comets, the zodiacal light and certain other cosmical phenomena.

OUR NATIONAL DEBT AND REVENUES.—The following table shows the debt and the revenues of the United States from 1861 to June 30, 1873:

	*Debt.	Customs Rev	Internal Rev.
'61	\$90,580,873	\$39,582,126	.....
'62	524,176,412	49,056,397	.....
'63	1,119,772,139	69,059,642	\$37,640,788
'64	1,815,784,370	102,316,153	162,741,134
'65	2,680,647,870	84,928,200	209,464,215
'66	2,773,236,174	179,046,651	309,226,813
'67	2,678,126,103	176,417,810	266,027,537
'68	2,611,687,851	164,464,599	191,087,589
'69	2,588,452,214	180,048,426	158,356,460
'70	2,480,672,427	194,538,374	184,899,756
'71	2,353,211,332	206,270,408	143,098,153
'72	2,253,251,328	216,370,286	130,642,178
'73	2,234,482,993	188,089,522	113,729,314

*The debt statement takes no notice of the cash on hand in the Treasury at the close of each fiscal year, or of the amount of interest accrued but not paid.

United States Government.

Office.	Name.	State.	Old pay.	New pay.
<i>The Executive.</i>				
President	Ulysses S. Grant...	Illinois	\$25,000	\$50,000
Vice President.....	Henry Wilson.....	Mass.....	8,000	10,000
<i>The Cabinet.</i>				
Secretary of State.....	Hamilton Fish.....	N. York ...	8,000	10,000
Secretary of the Treasury ..	W. A. Richardson..	Mass.....	8,000	10,000
Secretary of War.	Wm. W. Belknap...	Iowa.....	8,000	10,000
Secretary of the Navy.....	Geo. M. Robeson...	N. Jersey..	8,000	10,000
Secretary of the Interior....	Columbus Delano...	Ohio.....	8,000	10,000
Attorney General.....	Geo. H. Williams...	Oregon	8,000	10,000
Postmaster General	J. A. J. Creswell...	Maryland..	8,000	10,000
<i>The Supreme Court.</i>				
*Chief Justice.....	.....	.....	8,500	10,500
Associate Justice.....	Nathan Clifford....	Maine	8,000	10,000
Associate Justice.....	Noah H. Swayne ..	Ohio.....	8,000	10,000
Associate Justice.	Samuel F. Miller...	Iowa.....	8,000	10,000
Associate Justice.....	David Davis	Illinois ..	8,000	10,000
Associate Justice.....	Stephen J. Field ...	California..	8,000	10,000
Associate Justice.....	Wm. M. Strong.....	Penna.....	8,000	10,000
Associate Justice.....	Joseph P. Bradley..	N. Jersey..	8,000	10,000
Associate Justice.....	Ward Hunt.....	N. York ...	8,000	10,000

*Vacant since the death of Salmon P. Chase. Court meets at Washington, D. C., first Monday in December.

Table showing the number of States and Territories, respectively, comprising the United States, their Population, the number of Square Miles, and the Population per Square Mile, according to the Census of 1850, 1860, and 1870.

Date.	Number of		Population of	Sq. miles, (land surface.)	Population per sq. m.
1850	States.....	31	23,067,262	1,544,224	14.90
	Territories ..	7	124,614	1,436,735	0.09
	U. S., (incl'ng Territories)	38	23,191,876	2,980,959	7.78
1860	States.....	33	31,183,744	1,723,029	18.09
	Territories	8	259,577	1,303,465	0.19
	U. S., (incl'ng Territories)	41	31,443,321	3,026,494	13.89
1870	States.....	37	38,115,641	1,984,467	19.20
	Territories	12	442,730	1,619,417	0.27
	U. S., (incl'ng Territories)	49	38,558,371	3,603,884	10.69

TONE OF THE PRESS.—The press of the country pursued a wise course during the recent panic in railroad stocks. As a general thing the papers have given a true statement of the condition of affairs. They have drawn the line between speculation, that brought about the ruin of a large number of brokers and bankers, and the legitimate business of the country, that has been untouched by the passing storm. The tone has been hopeful, and has done much to restore public confidence. This is right; for to alarm the country when no good grounds exist for alarm would be little less than criminal. As long as our merchants and manufacturers and other business men engaged in legitimate trade stand firm, there is no reason to dread any bad effects from a panic confined entirely to speculation and fancy stock dealings.

DEPARTMENTAL.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

IMPORTATION OF IRON.

It will be seen by the following statement from the Bureau of Statistics that the importation of iron from abroad has largely decreased since last year. The English may well express alarm over the prospect of losing our trade in iron:

Month ended August 31, 1872.

Pig iron, tons.....	10,508
Bar and rod iron.....	5,032
Railroad iron.....	40,005
Hoop and boiler iron.....	3,305
Steel.....	2,066

Month ended August 31, 1873.

Pig iron, tons.....	7,235
Bar and rod iron.....	479
Railroad iron.....	6,937
Hoop and boiler iron.....	463
Steel.....	1,342

Eight Months ended August 31, 1872.

Pig iron, tons.....	152,331
Bar and rod iron.....	49,316
Railroad iron.....	340,321
Hoop and boiler iron.....	22,620
Steel.....	16,198

Eight Months ended August 31, 1873.

Pig iron, tons.....	78,403
Bar and rod iron.....	21,574
Railroad iron.....	141,330
Hoop and boiler iron.....	14,296
Steel.....	13,966

LAND DECISION OVERRULED.

The Secretary of the Interior has overruled the decision of the Commissioner of the General Land Office in the case of *Bascom vs. Davis*, involving the right to about thirty-five acres of land lying immediately on the edge of the town of Santa Clara, California, awarding in favor of Davis. The point in dispute was whether, under the act of 1866, a *bona fide* purchaser of a Mexican grant, when he only occupied and improved a portion of the land within the limits of the original survey, could preempt that portion. The Commissioner held that he could not; the Secretary held that he could.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

INSOLVENT BANKS.

The Comptroller of the Currency is paying dividends of twenty-five per cent. to the creditors of the First National Bank of Rockford, Ill.; one hundred per cent. to the creditors of the First Na-

tional Bank of Fort Smith, Ark.; and thirty-five per cent. to the creditors of the National Bank of Vicksburg, Miss. Dividends of thirty-five per cent. to the creditors of the First National Bank of Selma, Ala., and of fifteen per cent. to the creditors of the Atlantic National Bank of New York will be paid as soon as the necessary schedules can be prepared. Dividends to the creditors of the First National and Crescent City National Banks of New Orleans will also be made in the month of October.

IMPORTED MERCHANDISE.

The following circular, bearing date August 28, 1873, has been issued by the Secretary of the Treasury:

The special attention of collectors and other officers of the customs is called to the 36th section of the General Collection Act of March 2, 1799, and article 4, part 4, Revised Regulations, relative to the entry of imported merchandise by the agent of the owner or consignee, in case of the sickness or absence from the port of such owner or consignee; and to secure the more faithful observance of said law and regulation, the following instructions, recently issued to the collector of the port of New York, are hereby promulgated for the information and guidance of customs officers generally:

"In order to do away with certain irregularities which have been in some cases connected with the entries of imported merchandise, and for the purpose of fixing the responsibility for the entry on the proper person, it is hereby prescribed that agents and attorneys, (unless they are the consignees, and as such mentioned in the bill of lading,) shall not be permitted to make entry of merchandise in the name of their principal, unless their principal is absent from the limits of the port or sick, and then only upon their taking and filing an affidavit at the custom-house to the effect that their principal is absent from the port, or is so sick as to be unable to be personally present at the custom-house. When entry is allowed on such affidavit, the affidavit will be annexed to the bond for the production of the required oath and form part of the records of the case."

No entry of imported merchandise by the agent or attorney of the owner or consignee will be permitted except under the conditions above set forth, unless in cases where the officer receiving the entry has personal knowledge of the absence from the port, or of the sickness of such

owner or consignee, in which case an endorsement to that effect shall be made on the entry by the officer, which shall take the place of the affidavit before referred to.

REPORTS OF SEIZURES, ETC.

The following circular, bearing date August 30, 1873, has been issued by the Secretary of the Treasury:

"Inspectors of customs, officers of the revenue marine, special Treasury agents, and such other officers as report to collectors of customs, are hereby instructed, in future, to forward directly to the Department a duplicate of all reports of seizures, fines, penalties, and forfeitures which may hereafter be made by them to such collectors, or to other their immediate superior officers."

NOT A LOAN BROKER.—We believe the country will approve the position taken by Secretary Richardson in the following letter to Franklin Edson, president of the New York Produce Exchange:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 30, 1873.

SIR: Your letter of the 29th instant, covering two resolutions of the New York Produce Exchange, has been received, and the subject-matter fully considered. The resolutions are as follows:

"Whereas, the critical condition of the commercial interests of the country require immediate relief by the removal of the block in negotiating foreign exchange; therefore,

"Resolved, That we respectfully suggest to the Secretary of the Treasury the following plan for relief in this extraordinary emergency: First, that currency be immediately issued to the banks or bankers upon satisfactory evidence that gold has been placed upon special deposit in the Bank of England by their correspondents in London to the credit of the United States, to be used solely in purchasing commercial bills of exchange; second, that the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury are respectfully requested to order the immediate prepayment of the outstanding loan of the United States due January 1, 1874."

While the "Government is desirous of doing all in its power to relieve the present unsettled condition of business affairs," as has already been announced by the President, it is constrained in all its acts to keep within the letter and spirit of the laws which the officers of the Government are sworn to support, and they cannot go beyond the authority

which Congress has conferred upon them.

Your first resolution presents difficulties which cannot be overcome. It is not supposed that you desire to exchange coin in England for the United States notes in New York at par.

If your proposition is for the Government to purchase gold in England, to be paid for in United States notes at the current market rate in New York, it would involve the Government in the business of importing and speculating in gold, since the Treasury has no use for coin beyond its ordinary receipts, and would be obliged to sell the coin so purchased at a price greater or less than was paid for it.

If your object is to induce the Treasury Department to loan United States notes to banks in New York upon the pledge and deposit in London of gold, it is asking the Secretary of the Treasury to loan money of the United States upon collateral security, for which there is no authority in law.

If the Secretary of the Treasury can loan notes upon a pledge of coin, he can loan them upon a pledged of other property in his discretion, as he has recently been requested to do, which would be an extraordinary power, as well as a most dangerous business to engage in, and which my judgment would deter me from undertaking as Secretary of the Treasury, even if by any stretch of construction I might not find it absolutely prohibited by law.

The objections already mentioned to your first resolution are so insuperable and conclusive that it is unnecessary for me to refer to the many practical difficulties which would arise if an attempt should be made to comply with your request.

Your second resolution calls for the payment at once of the loan of 1858, or the bonds commonly called "Fives of 1874." Upon thorough investigation I am of opinion that Congress has not conferred upon the Secretary of the Treasury power to comply with your request in that particular, and in this opinion the law officers of the Government concur. Under these circumstances you will perceive that while I have great respect for the gentlemen comprising the New York Produce Exchange, I am compelled by my views of the law and of my duty to respectfully decline to adopt the measures which your resolutions propose.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, yours,

WM. A. RICHARDSON,
Secretary of the Treasury.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 28, 1873.

NOTICE.—1. Pursuant to the additional Rules for regulating the Civil Service of the United States, promulgated by the President on the 5th day of August, 1873, it is intended to hold examinations of applicants for admission to such service as hereinafter indicated. Portions of the Ninth Rule are as follows:

RULE 9.

For the purpose of bringing the examination for the Civil Service as near to the residences of those desiring to be examined as the appropriation at the command of the President will warrant, and for the further purpose of facilitating, as far as practicable, the making of selections for such service equably from the several portions of the Union, while at the same time preserving the principle of promoting merit, as tested by fair competition, it is provided as follows:

(1.) That the several States and Territories are grouped into five divisions, to be designated as Civil Service Districts; the said Districts to be numbered consecutively from one to five, as follows:

I. *The First District* embraces the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York; and the examinations therein shall be held alternately at the city of New York and the city of Boston, but first at the city of New York.

II. *The Second District* embraces the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia, and the District of Columbia; and the examinations therein shall be held at Washington.

III. *The Third District* embraces the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Kentucky; and the examinations therein shall be held alternately at Cincinnati and Detroit, but first at Cincinnati.

IV. *The Fourth District* embraces the States of Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, California, and Oregon, and also all the Territories, except New Mexico and the District of Columbia; and the examinations therein shall be held at St. Louis.

V. *The Fifth District* embraces the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Tennessee, together with the Territory of New Mex-

ico; and the examinations therein shall be held alternately at the city of Savannah and the city of Memphis, but first at the city of Savannah.

(2.) That in each of said Districts, examinations for admission to the Civil Service at Washington, shall be conducted as hereinafter provided; and those whose residence is within any such District at the time of filing the application for examination, shall be regarded as belonging to such District in reference both to competition and to appointments; and each District shall be treated as a sphere of competition, and those so residing therein, wherever examined, shall be regarded as competing only with each other; but a person residing in any District may be allowed or notified to be examined in any other District.

(3.) All applications for examination for service at Washington must be addressed to the head of the Department of that city which the applicant desires to enter, and be in conformity to the previous rules and regulations, so far as the same are not modified by this series; and every such application must be dated, must give the town or municipality, as well as the State or Territory, where the applicant has his legal residence, and also his post-office address.

2. The previous rules and regulations referred to, are the following:

I. Every application must be made in the handwriting of the applicant to the head of the Department in which employment is desired. It must state: (1) applicant's name in full; (2) place and date of birth; (3) legal residence, and how long it has been such; (4) education; (5) occupation, past and present; (6) whether ever employed in the civil service, and, if so, when, how long, in what branch and capacity, and reasons for leaving the service; and (7) whether ever in the regular or volunteer Army or Navy, and, if so, when, and in what organization and capacity.

II. The applicant must certify to having composed and written the application without assistance; to the truth of the statements which it contains; to being a citizen of the United States, and faithful to the Union and the Constitution; and, if ever in the regular or volunteer Army or Navy, to having been honorably discharged.

III. Every application must be accompanied by a certificate signed by two trustworthy and responsible persons, well known in the community in which they reside, that the applicant is personally well known to them to be of good moral character, and of temperate and industrious habits, and to be faithful to

the Union and the Constitution of the United States.

IV. Every application must also be accompanied by the certificate of a practicing physician as to the applicant's general health and physical capacity to perform clerical labor.

V. Applications filed previously to the adoption of these regulations must be renewed or perfected in accordance therewith to entitle them to consideration. No applications from persons under eighteen years of age will be considered, except for the position of counters in the Treasury Department, applicants for which must not be less than sixteen years of age.

VI. All applications upon their receipt will be carefully examined, and those which do not conform in every particular to the foregoing requirements, and such as show that the applicants are manifestly not qualified for clerical service, will be rejected, and the applicants so notified. All other applicants will be designated as eligible for examination, and will be so notified. Inasmuch as applications are to be made in writing, and each case is to be decided upon its merits, personal importunity will have no weight.

3. The examinations herein notified as soon to be held will be at New York city for the First District, at Cincinnati for the Third District, at St. Louis for the Fourth District, and at Savannah for the Fifth District; and in due time district examinations will be held at Washington for the Second District.

4. A person residing in any District may, when more convenient for him, be notified to appear and be examined in any other District.

5. The examination in New York city will be fixed and notified for a date about the middle of October, and the three others will follow at intervals of ten or fifteen days thereafter.

6. Applications must, therefore, be promptly sent to one of the Departments at Washington, according to the rules quoted, so that applicants may be seasonably notified to appear for examination.

7. The 15th clause of Rule 9, of August, 1873, provides, that persons who may be required to be examined for any Custom-house, Post Office, or other local office or place of service other than Washington, may be notified by the head of such office to appear and be examined at any examination provided for under this rule; and the result of such examination shall be reported by the Chief Examiner, or his substitute, to the proper Examining Board for such office or place, or to the head of the local office.

8. If the numbers who shall appear for examination shall be excessive the examination must stop with the examination of a reasonable number.

DORMAN B. EATON,
Chairman.

E. B. ELLIOTT,
Secretary.

A GOOD LETTER.—The following sensible letter from President Grant will be read with interest. We commend his views to those banking institutions that are locking up the currency, and clamoring for more from the Government. If the banks set an example in hoarding money the people will not be slow to follow it. Certified checks may be a convenience in certain cases, but to substitute them for the currency of the land will soon lead to disaster. To avert this, the banks and moneyed associations of the country must unlock their vaults and pay over to the business men of the country the money that belongs to them. The President's letter should be posted in every banking-house in the land:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D., C., Sept. 28, 1873.

To Messrs. H. B. Clafin and Charles L. Anthony:

GENTLEMEN: In response to the news you have communicated to me touching the present stringency in the money market of the country, and the necessary steps to restore confidence and legitimate trade and commerce, I have the honor to communicate the following:

The Government is desirous of doing all in its power to relieve the present unsettled condition of business affairs, which is holding back the immense resources of the country now awaiting transportation to the seaboard and a market. Confidence on the part of the people is the first thing needed to relieve this condition and to avert the threatened destruction of business with its accompanying disasters to all classes of the people.

To reestablish this feeling the Government is willing to take all legal measures at its command; but it is evident that no Government efforts will avail without the active coöperation of the banks and moneyed associations of the country. With the fourteen millions already paid out in the purchase of the Government indebtedness, and the withdrawal of their large deposits from the Treasury, the banks are now strong

enough to adopt a liberal policy on their part, and by a generous system of discounts to sustain the business interests of the country. Should such a course be pursued the forty-four millions of reserve will be considered as money in the Treasury to meet the demands of the public necessity as the circumstances of the country may require.

Close attention will be given to the course pursued by those who have the means at their command, of rendering all the aid necessary to restore trade to its proper channels and condition, with a view of strengthening the hands of those who carry out the measures above indicated. Orders have already been issued for the prepayment of the interest accruing in November.

U. S. GRANT.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The Second Comptroller of the United States Treasury has issued the following circular, bearing date September 26, 1873:

This office would call the attention of naval disbursing officers and others to the following extracts from a letter of the Hon. Secretary of the Navy to this office, dated August 5, 1872. On and after the date of this circular the accounting officers will not allow any credits for disbursements made in violation of instructions herein contained:

"NAVY DEPARTMENT,

"WASHINGTON, August 5, 1872.

"SIR: * * * It appears that the purchases of table furniture, crockery, and glassware referred to were made directly by the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting in accordance with the book of allowance, with the modifications thereof issued in 1869. The approval of the Chief of the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting is the proper evidence that the purchases conform in quantity, quality, and price to the general order of allowance given to him by the Department for his guidance, and for conformity to which he must be held directly responsible to the Department. Should the Bureau or any purchasing paymaster, however, vary materially from the requirements of the table of allowances, such variations should be noted in the bills, and it must be done upon the authority of some general or special order of the Department, which must be produced or referred to as the authority for such variation or excess.

"The other purchases, which appear to have been irregularly made, were made in accordance with long-continued practice of the Department, and for that reason the Department approves them for the

past. In future, however, no purchases will be approved by the Department except such as are made directly by the bureaus, or by the purchasing paymasters of the various stations.

"The chiefs of the bureaus are authorized by law to contract and purchase directly, but this authority belongs only to the bureaus themselves, and does not extend to the officers representing them at the various yards and stations.

"With regard to the subscriptions for newspapers, the Department, for the same reasons assigned in the case of the irregular purchases above referred to, approves those heretofore made, but no subscriptions will hereafter be made without the express authority of the Department.

* * * * *

"Very respectfully, &c.,

"GEO. M. ROBESON,

"Secretary of the Navy.

"HON. J. M. BRODHEAD,

"Second Comptroller of the Treasury."

The attention of disbursing officers is called to the regulation of the accounting officers on the subject of extraneous credits. All credits for differences of pay on account of promotions or length of service must be referred to the Fourth Auditor of the Treasury for settlement. A strict observance of this rule is necessary to prevent double payments.

Paymasters are instructed to render all bills and cash vouchers in detail, *i. e.*, giving the weights, measures, or numbers of the articles purchased, and the prices paid.

It appears that disbursing officers are in the practice of paying bills for gas consumed in the private houses of officers stationed at and living in the different navy-yards. *There is no authority of law for such expenditure*, and hereafter all vouchers in payments of gas bills must bear the certificate of the disbursing officer that they are for the consumption of gas in public offices and quarters only.

THE REMEDIES proposed to cure our financial troubles are as countless as those proposed for the cure of a bone-felon. The papers are flooded with plans and schemes to prevent panics, or to effectually stop them when they come. Their multiplicity befogs us. If these financial prophets would meet in convention, and agree upon some definite plan, we might have smooth sailing for the next century. Until they do, we are inclined to adopt the old-fashioned remedy, "Live within your income, and pay as you go."

BRITISH TAXATION.—In a lecture delivered at Steinway Hall, New York city, October 3, Charles Bradlaugh, one of the leaders of the republican movement in England, in speaking of the condition of English working-men and the burden of taxation resting upon the people, said :

"When her Majesty ascended the throne £47,000,000 a year was the taxation of our country. To-day it is over £75,000,000, including the cost of collection. Take the rents. Seventy years ago the landed proprietors of England and Wales received £22,500,000 a year; to-day, for the same property, they receive more than £100,000,000 sterling. On the £22,000,000 a year they paid then upwards of £2,000,000 land tax, and they pay on the £100,000,000 less than £1,000,000 of land tax. Two hundred years ago land in our country paid two-fifths of all the taxes, and to-day it pays less than one-seventy-sixth part of it. You ask me, What has that to do with the republican movement? I will tell you. Land is the territorial aristocracy. It owns the House of Lords. It stops every measure of redemption. It hindered the reform bill as long as it dared. It kept the Irish Church established, although it was a curse to the country where it obtained, as long as it could. It has locked our school doors by its opposition to education. It prevented the masses of the people from becoming instructed, by the taxes it kept upon knowledge, until hard fighting on our side dragged them off one by one. And this is the power which shelters itself by the throne, and which may drag the throne down with it in the struggle which is yet to come."

CABLE RECEIPTS.—The *Journal of the Telegraph* publishes a table showing the average daily receipt of the Anglo-American, French-Atlantic, and Newfoundland telegraph companies, under the various tariffs, from the beginning of the operation of the first cable, July 28, 1866, to August 1, 1873, and says: "Every reduction of the rates from \$100 for twenty words, to \$16 87 for ten words, was followed by an increase in the number of messages sent sufficient to maintain and even slightly augment the receipts. The decrease to \$10, however, was followed by a loss of 23 per cent. in receipts, while a further reduction to \$7 50, coupled with the increase in the traffic, caused by the war

between France and Germany, was followed by an increase of 100 per cent. in the number of messages and 51 per cent. in the receipts. Owing to the breaking of two of the cables in the autumn of 1870, the tariff was increased to \$15, in order to reduce the traffic and enable it to be carried over the remaining cable, and resulted in a decrease of 17 per cent. in the number of messages, and an increase of 57 per cent. in the receipts. In the summer of 1871 the broken cables were repaired, and the tariff reduced to \$10 per message, causing an increase of 33 per cent. in the number of messages, and a decrease of 6 per cent. in the receipts. In May, 1872, the rate was made \$1 per word, irrespective of the number of words sent, and was followed by an increase of about 30 per cent. in the number of messages, and of 16 per cent. in the receipts. Two of the cables were broken in the spring of 1873, when the rate was increased to \$1 50 per word, and resulted in reducing the number of messages to 9 per cent., and increasing the receipts 23 per cent. One of the cables having been subsequently repaired, and a new one laid, the tariff was again reduced to \$1 per word, causing a decrease of 34 per cent. in the receipts. The receipts in 1872 were larger than in any previous year, and the companies paid dividends of 12 per cent., but the serious breakages since have demonstrated that the dividends should have been less, and a larger sum put to reserve.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY stands squarely on the following platform :

Opposition to the back-pay legislation.

Opposition to all monopolies that tend to oppress labor or interfere with the rights of the people.

Opposition to the Lobby and all other influences which tend to corrupt or interfere with honest legislation.

Opposition to further land grants, except for educational purposes or immediate settlement.

Opposition to anything that tends to extravagance or corruption in the administration of the Government.

THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY have already throughout the country 6,903 subordinate granges. On the 4th October, 1873, the number in the several States given stood as follows:

Alabama, 94; Arkansas, 61; California, 75; Florida, 10; Georgia, 213; Illinois, 652; Indiana, 421; Iowa, 1,811; Kansas, 577; Kentucky, 9; Louisiana, 24; Maryland, 2; Massachusetts, 5; Michigan, 81; Minnesota, 358; Mississippi, 362; Missouri, 872; Nebraska, 327; New Hampshire, 4; New Jersey, 9; New York, 11; North Carolina, 96; Ohio, 147; Oregon, 35; Pennsylvania, 26; South Carolina, 161; Tennessee, 158; Texas, 23; Vermont, 27; Virginia, 3; West Virginia, 16; Wisconsin, 209; Colorado, 2; Dakota, 20; Washington, 5; Canada, 8.

TO COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.—The Secretary of the Treasury has issued the following circular, bearing date October 3, 1873:

The Sublime Porte has requested the Government of the United States to give public notice to American shipmasters sailing for any port of the Ottoman Empire, that the bills of health of their respective vessels must be *vised* by the Ottoman consuls at the ports of departure of such vessels in the United States, or that, on arriving in Ottoman waters, the ships will be subjected to quarantine in the same manner as though they carried foul bills of health.

You are requested to bring the matter to the attention of the masters of all vessels clearing from your port for any place in the Ottoman Empire.

MEN who refuse to take part in the primary meetings have no right to complain if incompetent and unworthy men are selected for office. The only way to keep rascals out of office is to nominate good men, and this can only be done by the prompt attendance of the honest men of the party at the primary meeting. The first duty of a citizen should be the nomination of good men; the next, their election and support.

A FOUNTAIN of water cannot be purer than its source, so the laws which govern a community must partake of the character of those who framed them. If we demand good laws, we must elect good men

to make them. If we desire their impartial execution, we must elect men who are above reproach; whose integrity has been tried, and whose sense of justice cannot be influenced by bribes or threats.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 24, 1873.

On the petition of ALBERT F. JOHNSON, of Parkville, New York, praying for the extension of a patent granted to him on the 24th day of January, 1860, for an improvement in Sewing Machines:

It is ordered that the testimony in the case be closed on the 23d day of December next; that the time for filing arguments and the Examiner's report be limited to the 2d day of January next, and that said petition be heard on the 7th day of January next.

Any person may oppose this extension.

oc25-w3t D. M. LEGGETT,
Commissioner.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 17, 1873.

On the petition of ABRAHAM DENNY and EDWARD M. DENNY, of Waterford, Ireland, praying for the extension of a patent granted to them on the 23d day of October, 1860, and patented in England on the 2d day of February, 1860, for an improvement in Apparatus for Singeing Pigs:

It is ordered that the testimony in the case be closed on the 30th day of December next; that the time for filing arguments and the Examiner's report be limited to the 9th day of January next, and that said petition be heard on the 14th day of January next.

Any person may oppose this extension.

oc21-w3t M. D. LEGGETT,
Commissioner.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 3, 1873.

On the petition of B. B. HAWSE, of Morris-town, Vermont, praying for the extension of a patent granted to him on the 3d day of January, 1860, for an improvement in CLOTHES DRYERS:

It is ordered that the testimony in the case be closed on the 2d day of December next, that the time for filing arguments and the Examiner's report be limited to the 12th day of December next, and that said petition be heard on the 17th day of December next.

Any person may oppose this extension.

M. D. LEGGETT, Commissioner.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 6, 1873.

On the petition of FRANCIS C. LOWTHROP, of Trenton, New Jersey, praying for the extension of a patent granted to him on the 3d day of January, 1860, for an improvement in PIVOT BEARINGS:

It is ordered that the testimony in the case be closed on the 2d day of December next, that the time for filing arguments and the Examiner's report be limited to the 12th day of December next, and that said petition be heard on the 17th day of December next.

Any person may oppose this extension.

M. D. LEGGETT, Commissioner.